

FOREWORD

National Commission to examine the issue of sub categorization of Scheduled Castes
in Andhra Pradesh

Submitted to Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

May, 2008

FOREWORD

The Government of India had issued a Notification on 16th November 2006 wherein it was mentioned that they were seized of the issue arising out of the judgment of the Supreme Court in the case of E. V. Chinnaiah Vs. State of Andhra Pradesh [2004 (9) Scale] where the Apex Court had struck down the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes (Rationalisation of Reservation) Act, 2000 regarding sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. Thereafter, the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly unanimously adopted the Resolution, supported by all the political parties, on 10th December 2004 to recommend to take up the matter in the Parliament. Accordingly, the State Government forwarded the Resolution to the Government of India.

The National Commission to examine the issue of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh was thus set up to examine the various facets of demand and to examine the Constitutional, statutory and legal ramifications on this issue subsequent to the judgement of the Apex Court. The Commission was asked to make recommendation on the future course of action.

The main objective before the Commission was in direct relation with the various facets of demands, put forward by individuals and organisations was to know whether certain castes in Andhra Pradesh were lagging far behind than the other

dominant castes in getting the benefits as are admissible to Scheduled Castes especially in the matter of jobs, appointment in Government in Andhra Pradesh and also schemes and programmes meant for these vulnerable groups. Such an action recommended by the Commission for sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes would be instrumental to bring more harmony among the various castes, as it will provide equal opportunity to less fortunate among the Scheduled Castes by way of affirmative action.

For furthering the objectives, the Commission made interaction with various individuals, organisations and public at large in such a way that no section of the society remains unrepresented. The Commission is overwhelmed with positive response it received from all quarters that mattered on this issue. The Commission hopes that the recommendations on the issue of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes will be taken in right perspective and it will receive the attention of the Government immediately.

I would like to convey my sincere appreciation to the Officers and Staff in the Commission as well as the Government of Andhra Pradesh for their fullest participation and support in preparing the report notwithstanding the intricate nature of the work.

(Justice Usha Mehra)

Chairperson

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On the issue of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes, which has been of very intricate nature and emotional one for all the castes in Andhra Pradesh, the writing of the report has been extremely challenging task. It could be completed, however, by the sincere and untiring efforts of number of academics and informed people from all over the State. The Commission expresses its profound sense of gratitude to them for their valuable oral and written submission. A number of organisations, individuals provided access to required data in a systemic manner so that issue can be examined threadbare. The Registrar General of India, Anthropological Survey of India, National Sample Survey Organisation and State level Government institutions and offices shared valuable data with us. Without these valuable contributions, our report would indeed have remained incomplete.

The public hearing, the visits to urban and rural habitations of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh were made possible because of the excellent support extended by the Special Chief Secretary, and other Senior Officers of respective Departments of Government of Andhra Pradesh. The Commission is grateful for the help and hospitality extended during its stay and as well as for making available data from different Departments. The emotional and positive response and intricate analysis of the people across the State and their valuable contribution in the form of representations made to the Commission during these visits on the concern for the lesser advantaged castes, has helped us in placing the facts in the right context. The

concern shown by various castes have been extremely valuable in reflecting the nuances of several important issues faced by the Scheduled Castes that would otherwise go unnoticed in reading of data alone.

Shri A. P. V. N. Sarma, Former Special Chief Secretary, Shri R. M. Gonela, Former Commissioner of Social Welfare and Smt. M. Prasanthi, Joint Director of the Social Welfare Department of Government of Andhra Pradesh deserve special mention for their unstinted support.

The Commission also would like to thank Shri V.K. Srinivasan, Vice Chairman and Dr. U. Subrahmanyam, Director of the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad for having completed the evaluation study entrusted to them in time, which helped the Commission to incorporate the same in the report.

I would also like to thank Shri P. P. Mitra, Joint Secretary, Shri M. Rajendran, Director, Shri T. C. Joshi, Director, Shri Lokhan Marandi, Under Secretary, Shri Jatender Singh, Section Officer, Dr. Sudipta Ghosh, Senior Investigator and the Support Staff of the Commission for providing much needed organizational skills and in depth knowledge of the issues in larger perspective. The Commission expresses appreciation of their commitment and for the meticulous work they put on in a record time in completing the report.

(Justice Usha Mehra)
Chairperson

INTRODUCTION

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 341 of the Constitution of India, the President, after consultation with the Governors and Rajpramukhs of the States concerned made the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950. The clause (2) of the Article 341 of the Constitution of India provides that only the Parliament has the power to include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification issued under clause(1) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

1.2. Originally the Andhra Pradesh State was part of Madras Presidency. With the State reorganization and formation of Andhra Pradesh, the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 was modified in 1956. The list of Scheduled Castes was last modified during the year 2007. Presently, 60 communities are listed as Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

1.3. It came to the notice of the Government that certain listed communities in Andhra Pradesh were getting benefits grossly disproportionate to their population percentage and there was need to take appropriate action to remove this anomaly. On 2-9-1996, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh made a statement in the State Assembly that "in the recent months there have been persistent demands from a certain section of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes that a disproportionately large number of benefits have gone to a particular sub-caste among Scheduled Castes and thereby demanding for categorisation of sub castes among Scheduled Castes into A, B, C and D. In view of the persistent demands raised, Government after careful consideration decided to set up a Statutory Commission under the Commission of Enquiries Act, 1952 headed by a retired High Court Judge to go into this matter and to suggest suitable remedial measures."

1.4. As a follow up to that Statement, G. O. 99, Social Welfare (J1) Department dated 10-9-1996 was issued by the State Government of Andhra Pradesh appointing Justice Shri P. Ramachandra Raju (Retd) to head the Commission of Enquiry setting out the terms of reference. In terms thereof, the Commission had to go into all aspects of reservation in employment and reservation in admission to educational institutions available to Scheduled Castes and examine: (a) Whether a disproportionately large number of benefits have gone to any particular sub-caste of Scheduled Castes; and (b) if so, to indicate all such steps as are required to be taken to ensure that the above benefits are equitably distributed among the various sub-castes of Scheduled Castes.

1.5. Based on the findings of the report of Justice Ramachandra Raju (Retd.), the Government of Andhra Pradesh issued orders vide G. O. Ms. No. 68, Social Welfare (J1) Department dated 6th June 1997 and G. O. Ms. No. 59, Social Welfare (J1) Department dated 7th June 1997 providing for the categorisation of the Scheduled Caste communities under four categories viz. Category A (Rellis and 11 other communities), Category B (Madiga and 17 other communities), Category C (Mala and 24 other communities), and Category D (Adi Andhra and 3 other communities) and allotting the 15% reservation in services and in admissions to educational institutions in proportion to the population in that order. These orders were challenged before the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, which struck them down in September 1997 mainly on the ground of no consultation with the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. After some further developments, in March 1998, the State Government requested the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for conveying its acceptance for the categorisation. The National Commission after examining the information received from the State Government, the legal issues and the various other memoranda received by them did not agree to the categorisation for various reasons stated in their report. After considering the report of the National Commission, the State Government promulgated an Ordinance for implementing the categorisation and later passed an Act known as Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes (Rationalisation of Reservations) Act, in May 2000. The Act was challenged in the Hon'ble High Court of Andhra Pradesh, which upheld the validity of

the Act in its judgement of November 2000. But on a further challenge, the Hon'ble Supreme Court, in November 2004, pronounced that the impugned legislation apart from being not the legislative competence of the State was also violative of Article 14 of the Constitution and hence was liable to be declared as ultra virus of the Constitution. The demands for categorization, however, continued. Therefore, the Government of Andhra Pradesh vide their letter No.8904/CV/2000, dated 10-1-2005 addressed to the Secretary, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi informed that the Andhra Pradesh Assembly at its meeting held on 10-12-2004 had unanimously adopted the following Resolution moved by the Hon'ble Chief Minister:

"This House had passed Resolution on 22nd April 1998 for categorisation of Scheduled Castes as recommended by Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission. In view of the recent Supreme Court Judgement, the House resolves to recommend to the Government of India to take up the matter in the Parliament".

The Government of Andhra Pradesh vide above mentioned letter requested the Government of India to arrange to take the matter in the Parliament, to protect the interests of Scheduled Castes by suitably amending the Constitution.

1.6. In view of the aforesaid request of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, the Government of India vide Gazette Notification (Extraordinary) No.257 published on 15-11-2006 constituted the "National Commission to examine the issue of sub categorization of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh" for a period of one year from the date of appointment of the Chairperson. Justice Usha Mehra, Former Judge of Delhi High Court took charge as Chairperson of the Commission on 21st May 2007.

1.7. The Terms of reference of the Commission are as under:

- (a) To examine the various facets of the demand for sub-categorization of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh subsequent to the judgment of the Supreme Court of India in the case of E.V. Chinnaiah Vs. State of Andhra Pradesh & others (2004(9) Scale);

- (b) To examine the Constitutional, statutory and legal ramifications of the demand for sub-categorization of Scheduled Castes;
- (c) To make recommendations on the future course of action, clearly specifying the grounds and the criteria on which these recommendations are based.

1.8. The Commission adopted the following procedure for assessment of the ground realities before preparation of its report:

- (a) To elicit the views from persons, associations, Non Governmental Organisations and Universities acquainted with the issue of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes, the Commission issued a Public Notice in June 2007 in the leading national level and regional newspapers in Andhra Pradesh with the request to submit the representations on or before 30th June 2007. Those desirous of personal hearing were asked to contact the Commission on any working day between 10.00 A.M to 5.00 P.M.
- (b) The Commission made following visits in connection with public hearing, receiving representations and on the spot assessment of the ground realities as are prevailing in the rural and urban areas in Andhra Pradesh:

<i>S. No</i>	<i>Name and designation</i>	<i>Date of visit</i>	<i>Place of visit</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
(i)	Shri T. C. Joshi, Director and Shri M. Rajendran, Director	22-6-2007 to 28-6-2007	Hyderabad, Mahaboobnagar, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Guntur and Chittoor	For making preliminary enquiry and assessment of the situation on the issue of sub categorisation.
(ii)	Justice Usha Mehra, Chairperson and Shri T. C. Joshi, Director	14-7-2007 and 15-7-2007	Hyderabad	For hearing the oral submission of the individuals, organisations on the issue of sub categorisation.

- (iii) Justice Usha Mehra, 18-8-2007 Cuddapah and For hearing the oral
Chairperson, and Chittoor Districts submission of the
Shri S. S. Sharma, 19-8-2007 individuals, organisations
Joint Secretary, on the issue of sub
Shri T. C. Joshi, categorisation and also
Director visit to Scheduled Caste
habitations.
- (iv) Justice Usha Mehra, 8-9-2007 Visakhapatnam, For hearing the oral
Chairperson, to Vizianagaram and submission of the
Shri S. S. Sharma, 11-9-2007 East Godavari individuals, organisations
Joint Secretary, on the issue of sub
Shri T. C. Joshi, categorisation and also
Director and visit to Scheduled Caste
Shri M. Rajendran, habitations in rural areas.
Director
- (v) Justice Usha Mehra, 29-9-2007 Warrangal, Medak Visit to Scheduled Caste
Chairperson, to and habitation for an on the
Shri P. P. Mitra, 1-10-2007 Ranga Reddy spot assessment of their in
Joint Secretary rural areas.
Shri T. C. Joshi,
Director and
Shri M. Rajendran,
Director
- (vi) Justice Usha Mehra, 18-11-2007 Hyderabad Meeting with District
Chairperson, to Collectors from Telengana
Shri P. P. Mitra, 20-11-2007 and Coastal Andhra,
Joint Secretary Chairmen and Managing
Shri T. C. Joshi, Directors of Andhra
Director and Pradesh Scheduled Caste
Shri M. Rajendran, Co-operative Finance
Director Corporation/SIDC/SSI/
Representatives from
Social Welfare
Department, CMD of State
Bank of Hyderabad, CMD,
Andhra Bank, State Level
Bankers Committee,
Andhra Pradesh. Also held
meetings with Vice
Chancellors/Registrars of
Universities.
- (vii) Justice Usha Mehra, 19-12-2007 Rayalaseema
Chairperson, to Region Meeting with the District
Collectors of Rayalaseema

Shri P. P. Mitra, 20-12-2007

Joint Secretary

Shri T. C. Joshi,

Director and

Shri M. Rajendran,

Director

Region of Andhra Pradesh.

(viii) Shri P. P. Mitra, 20-1-2008 Hyderabad

Joint Secretary to

Shri T. C. Joshi, 22-1-2008

Director and

Shri Jatender Singh,

Section Officer

Meeting with Secretaries/Senior Officers of Education, Social Welfare, Agriculture, Rural Development, Industries and Housing Programmes. Discussed roster points with the officers of the State Government. Also held meeting with the Director of Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad for discussion on the research study assigned to them on the issue of sub categorisation.

(c) The Commission sponsored research study titled, "Evaluation study on the extent of benefits accrued to all the Scheduled Caste communities included in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 in Andhra Pradesh" to the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad, an independent research organisation;

(d) The Chairperson discussed the matter related with the issue of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes with the M.Ps, M.L.As, and M.L.Cs from Andhra Pradesh and representatives of various organisations.

(e) Referred reports of the Advisory Committee on the Revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Registrar General of India, Anthropological Survey of India, Planning and Social Welfare Departments of Government of Andhra Pradesh.

PROFILE OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

CASTES IN INDIA:

Castes are groups with a well-developed life of their own, the membership whereof, unlike that of voluntary associations and of classes, is determined not by selection but by birth. The status of a person in this system depend not on his wealth as in the classes of modern Europe, but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the luck of being born (Ghurye, 1950). The Caste has its own rules. Thus, caste is a group with a separate arrangement for meting out justice to its members apart from that of the community as a whole, within which the caste is included as only one of the groups. Hence, the diversity in the administration of law necessarily led to differences in moral standards of the various castes, which has created a cultural gulf between the Castes. For example, many of the castes have their special deities. Among such castes from Southern India, few noted ones are Komati, Mala, Madiga and Kamsala (Ghurye, 1950).

Some castes are so low in the scale that they are regarded as outside the ordinary pale of society and suffer disabilities accordingly, but that is perhaps an incidental rather than an essential feature of the caste system. As also mentioned earlier by Ghurye, Hutton also suggested that each caste is a social unit in itself. The customs by which it lives are generally different in some respects from those of any other caste at all. Persons of one caste do not marry those of another. The extent to which persons of one caste will eat or drink with those of another is strictly limited by unwritten laws and everybody knows who is affected by them (Hutton 1951). The practices in the matter of food and social intercourse divide India into two broad belts. In India, castes can be divided into five groups; first, the twice-born castes; second, those castes at whose hands the twice-born can take 'Pakka' food; third, those castes at whose hands the twice-born cannot accept any

kind of food but may take water; fourth, castes that are not untouchable yet are such that water from them cannot be used by the twice-born; last come all those castes whose touch defiles not only the twice-born but any orthodox Hindu (Ghurye, 1950).

There are thought to be some 3,000 castes in India, and it would need an encyclopaedia to deal with them all. Some are derived from tribal or racial elements. Some are occupational being of the nature originally perhaps of guilds of artificers or craftsmen, some are territorial, some religious and so fourth. The original bond which united the members of a caste has often been different in different cases (Hutton, 1951).

The ideas about the power of certain castes to convey pollution by touch are not so highly developed in Northern India as in the South. In South India the idea that impurity can be transmitted by the mere shadow of an untouchable or by his approaching within a certain distance seem to prevail quite visibly. No Hindu of decent caste would touch a Chamar or a Dom; and some of the very low castes themselves are quite strict about contact. However, surprisingly in Southern India there is no distinction of food as '*Kachcha*' for the purposes of its acceptance or otherwise from anyone but a member of one's own caste. (Ghurye, 1950).

Generally a caste or a group of allied castes considered some of the callings as its hereditary occupation, to abandon which in pursuit of another is thought not to be right, even if that one is more lucrative. Thus, a Brahmin thought that it is correct for him to be a priest, while the Chambhar regarded it as his duty to cure hides and prepare shoes. However, this is only generally true, for there are groups of occupations like trading, agriculture, labouring in the field, and doing military services which are looked upon as anybody's and most castes are supposed to be eligible for any of them. More than one castes are generally engaged in agriculture. Weaving is practised by many of the menial castes including even the impure castes of Mahars and Chamars. Sometimes, several castes have same traditional occupation like agriculture or weaving (Ghurye, 1950). In Andhra Pradesh, the caste population are more volatile than their neighbouring states, and in particular are noted for the outbreaks of rioting between the castes of the Right Hand and of the Left, two ancient factions in which the low castes of Mala and Madiga are respectively prominent as protagonists (Hutton, 1951).

SCHEDULED CASTES:

The size of Scheduled-Caste communities is an important factor. Some of these communities consist of more than a million people, whereas others number fewer than 1000 persons. Many Scheduled Castes have plural identities and for an anthropologist the task of listing and studying them poses a dilemma. The plural identities of these people are largely due to the processes of fission and fusion that plagued the Indian caste system and the reform movements that have changed community names many times over. Every identity perhaps has specificity to itself, which is not traceable in another identity. Adi Andhra and Mala are not synonyms, nor Adi Dharmi and Chamar. In some cases, certain communities with similar names and even spelling were treated separately for their distinct, cultural features and occupational diversity (K.S. Singh, 1993).

CHARACTERISTICS OF SCHEDULED CASTES:

- 1) The scheduled caste communities perceive themselves mostly as local and regional communities.
- 2) In terms of serological parameters, the scheduled castes exhibit a higher incidence of 'B' gene than 'A' gene.
- 3) They are mostly non-vegetarian.
- 4) Like other communities the scheduled castes have social divisions. They hardly have *phratry* or *moiety* and band system, but they have clan system. They follow clan exogamy during marriage.
- 5) Divisions also exist in terms of sub castes or subgroups, especially in case of major scheduled castes.
- 6) They generally lie outside the Chaturvarna system.
- 7) A large number of them are Endogamous. The incidence of Hypergamy and Hypogamy is negligible. They follow clan and surname level Exogamy. Monogamy is the form of marriage. Cross-cousin marriages are common. Widow marriage has social sanction and it is almost universal.

- 8) Family is mostly nuclear type and inheritance is mostly male Equigeniture.
- 9) The women among Scheduled Castes have a role in all economic and income generation activities, as well as in social functions and ritual matters. But they have a lower status.
- 10) Scheduled Castes are mostly landless and unlike Tribes, they have followed wide range of traditional occupations, usually more than one.
- 11) Although untouchability has been abolished by law, but it still persists in some places of rural area. in relation to the exchange of water and food with communities considered to be higher in the social hierarchy. For a Mala, a Madiga is an untouchable.

SCHEDULED CASTES OF ANDHRA PRADESH:

In this section a brief description of the profile of each Schedule Caste of Andhra Pradesh is depicted, as given by K.S. Singh in 'People of India'. In this regard, community names are derived from the Presidential list, according to Constitution (Schedule Castes) Order 1950.

Adi Andhra:

The name Adi Andhra is derived for people who inhabited Andhra from the beginning and are the original settlers. This term was coined in the beginning of the 20th century in order to enhance the status and self-respect of the untouchables. In Andhra Pradesh, Mala, Madiga and Panchama castes prefer to call themselves Adi Andhra. They are Hindus by religion. The traditional occupation of Adi Andhra belonging to Madiga group was making or repairing leather footwear and all works related to leather and skin. Those belonging to Mala group are engaged in weaving cotton cloth. Apart from these occupations they also work as sweepers, drum beaters and wage labourers.

Adi Dravida:

The term Adi Dravida is a generic name. Adi Dravida, the original Dravidian or speaker of Tamil Language, are the so-called Pre Aryan inhabitants of India. This community is also referred to as Harijans, Mala and Parayan. It has groups like the Telegu Mala, Tamil Mala, Savu Mala and Dhobi Mala, based on their traditional occupations. The Telegu Mala and Tamil Mala are agricultural groups the Savu Mala are grave diggers and the Dhobi Mala are the washermen of the Mala. They are distributed in Chittoor and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Adi-Dravida is Endogamous in nature, i.e. they do not marry outside their own community. Marriages are regulated by surname, which are strictly Exogamous in nature.

Land is the natural resources of most of the Adi Dravida. Males engage in agricultural operations like ploughing and harvesting and the females in transplanting, weeding, harvesting etc. In urban areas, male members are engaged as daily wage labourers for loading and unloading of goods from vehicles, as scavengers, helpers etc. The Adi-Dravida traditionally accept cooked food and water from the Medari, Reddy, Naidu, Vanniar, Brahman and Telegu speaking Mala, but not from the Dhobi Mala and Madiga, as they consider them inferior.

Anamuk:

This is a small community with only 40 populations all over Andhra Pradesh. Perhaps, due to their small size even K.S. Singh has not given any account on them.

Aray Mala:

The Aray Malas are known to be the decedents of the Maharattas of Maharashtra and probably migrated to Karnataka. They are nomads by nature and carry on migratory cultivation in Western Ghats. However, after loosing their right of ownership of forestland, they have not retained their traditional occupations. They are now cultivating in the low-lying land adjoining forests. There are no authentic accounts of how they got absorbed into the caste system. The population of Aray Mala has shown sharp increase over the year 1991 to 2001. The caste is mostly found in the district of Medak in Telengana region.

Arundhatiya:

This community is a satellite community of the Madiga and are often treated as Madiga by other communities. There are no sub-groups in this community. They are concentrated in Nellore, West Godavari and East Godavari districts and also Chittoor, Visakhapatnam, Cuddapah, Srikakulam and Guntur districts. A majority of them live in rural areas. They speak Telegu and use Telegu script for writing.

They strictly follow marriage endogamy, i.e. they do not marry outside their own community. Moreover, marriages are performed among the people of the same surname. Their surnames regulate their marital alliances. Women participate equally with men in economic activities. They work as agricultural labourers, in mining, quarrying, household industry etc. and also collect firewood and fodder for their homes.

They are experts in skin tanning and in preparing leather goods of various kinds. Amongst them, there are very few petty businessman, holders of white-collar jobs, teachers and defence personnel. Most of them are illiterate. The local caste population consider them as an inferior community. They claim equal status with the Madiga. They are treated as untouchables by all the higher castes like the Brahman Komati, Kapu and Kamma, who traditionally do not take food and water from them. This community do not accept food and water from the Mala, Dakka, Pichchiguntala etc. They inter dine with Madiga, Sindholu, Kommolu, Bainorolu and Jambavulu.

Arwa Mala:

The Arwa Mala are Tamil speaking Mala, who have settled among the Telegu Mala of the Chittoor and Nellore districts. Marriage is regulated by surname exogamy. The Arwa Mala women collect firewood and go to the fields to collect fodder for cattle, apart from their routine domestic work. They also work as agricultural labour. Arwa Mala is a landless community. Their primary occupation is working as agricultural labourers. Some of them are employed in Government services as peons, clerks etc. They traditionally accept cooked food and water from all Hindu communities, but not from the Madiga. The Mangali (Barbers) and Chakali (washer man) traditionally do not render their services to the community.

Bariki:

The Bariki are concentrated in Kurnool, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam and Anantapur districts. In Chittoor, Cuddapah, East Godavari, Guntur, Hyderabad, Mahabubnagar, Medak, Nellore, Prakasam and West Godavari districts, their numbers are small. The Bariki are an Endogamous group, i.e. they do not marry out side their own community. They are divided into several Exogamous clans. They do not have separate surnames but the name of the occupation they pursue such as Bariki, Bestha, Maddi, Sunnapolla and Mudiraju are usually prefixed to their personal names. Their clans regulate their marriage alliances. The community has scholars, teachers, doctors, veterinary doctors etc. A majority of them work as agricultural labourers. Some of them are also working as daily wage labourers in plantations and quarries.

Bavuri:

The Bavuri, also known as Khodalo and Vavuri, are an Oriya community whose traditional occupation is basket making and agricultural labour. They are distributed in the border areas of Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. According to Thurston (1909), the Bavuri are divided into two endogamous groups, viz., *Dullia* and *Khandi*. The former regard themselves as superior to the latter. The Bavuri marries within their sub caste and on the basis of their official kinship relations. There are no surnames in this caste as in most of the Telegu speaking communities. Consanguineous marriage is practised like other Scheduled Castes noted so far.

The Bavuri's main occupation is agricultural labour, basketry and fishing. A landless community, they work as labourers on annual payment. They traditionally accept water and cooked food only from Brahman or a Goudo. But communities like the Kapu, Velama, Majjula and Vysya neither exchange nor accept food and water from a Bavuri. Communities like the Dandasi, Paidi and Paky accept food and water from them.

Beda (Budga) Jangam:

The Beda (Budga) Jangams are Hindus by religion and are traditionally soothsayers. They are distributed in Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telangana regions. They earn money by exhibiting idols of leather and by a skilful contrivance making them

dance to the music of cymbals and drums. They have social divisions at surname level, which regulate their marriage. They are Endogamous and they follow surname exogamy. Generally, they live by soothsaying, begging and mat weaving. They also work on daily wages in the cotton farms. They are mostly landless and depend on moneylenders quite often. They perceive their status as very low in the social hierarchy.

Bindla:

The community does not have subgroups and titles. On the other hand, according to Hassan (1920), Madiga are broken up into numerous sub castes and the Bindla is one among those. The Bindla are distributed in all the districts of Telangana area. Generally, they live alongside the Madiga at one end of the village. Endogamy at the community level is the general rule of a Bindla marriage. Since there are no major social divisions among the Bindla, different surnames regulate marriage alliances. They consider themselves as equal in status to the Madiga and higher in status than the Mala. The other community people treat the Bindla at par with the Madiga and consider it as the lowest and poorest section of the Hindu Society. They accept food and water from other communities. The services of the washermen (Chakali) and barber (Mangari) are available to this community. Except with Madiga, they do not share wells and common burial ground with other communities.

Singing songs in praise of goddesses while playing the *jamdika* instrument is the traditional occupation of this community. They invoke and appease the village deities. They also act as priest at the time of deity worship by other communities and also act as priests in the marriages of the Madiga. At present, the primary occupation of the community is agricultural labourer. Their subsidiary occupations include shoe making, shoe repair and employment as sweepers.

Byagara, Byagari:

They are the community of gravediggers and agricultural labourers living in the districts of the Telangana region. They speak Telegu in its local dialect and use Telegu script. The Byagara consider them selves as Mala with a different occupation. They have different surnames, which regulate their marriages. They consider as belonging to the same social

position like Mala and therefore are superior to the Madiga. They are an Endogamous group, suggesting that they do not intermarry with any other caste. They practised consanguineous marriage and Monogamy is the norm.

Chachati:

This community is basically Haddis who do scavenging work. They do not intermarry with other Haddis. At the state level, their population is 1231 (Census 2001) and they are mostly distributed in the districts of Visakhapatnam and East Godavari.

Chalavadi:

The Chalavadi are popularly referred to as Mala. However, in "Ethnographic notes on Chalavadi" in Census of India, 1961, it is mentioned that there are too many differences in social customs between the Chalavadi and the Mala. They are an Endogamous group and do not intermarry with other castes.

They are mainly distributed in the districts of Anantapur and Kurnool of Andhra Pradesh. Social divisions exist at the clan and surname level, mainly to regulate marriage alliances. They follow the rule of community endogamy and clan exogamy during marriage. Consanguineous marriages are very common. Monogamy is the norm. The Chalavadi is a landless community, though a few families have some cultivable land. Their traditional occupations are weaving bed sheets, dhotis and towels by handlooms, beating traditional musical instrument like drum and blowing trumpet during festivals and marriages. The community's present primary occupations are agricultural labour and cultivation. Some of them play musical instruments in the marriage celebrations of other communities, whereas some work as Government servant or agricultural labour. The community considers its position in local hierarchy as above the Madiga. Traditionally, they accept food and water from other communities except the Madiga. They do not share well with other communities, but share the burial ground.

Chamar, Mochi, Muchi, Chamar-Ravidas, Chamar-Rohidas:

The Chamar inhabit Hyderabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Adilabad, Kurnool, Karimnagar, Warangal, Nalgonda, Anantapur, Krishna, Guntur, Cuddapah and East Godavari districts.

They are mainly concentrated in Hyderabad. In East and West Godavari districts they have migrated mainly from adjacent districts of Orissa.

The Chamar have clans and surname wise divisions in their society. Some surnames are territorial type. The Chamars are an Endogamous group. They follow surname and clan exogamy in contracting marriage alliances. Generally, they follow monogamy and prefer consanguineous marriages. They are Hindus by religion.

The traditional occupation of this caste is to make shoes and other leather articles such as boxes, harness and saddies, using the hides of the cows, bullocks, buffalos, deer etc. Some of their women are also engaged in animal husbandry and daily wage labour. These days this caste group has few doctors, engineers and teachers. In social hierarchy although they have a low status but, they feel superior to the Madiga. They traditionally accept food and water from all communities. They receive services from washer men and barbers.

Chambhar:

According to K.S. Singh, they are also known as *Chamar* or *Ram Dasia*. They are known differently in different areas and as such included in many groups. In Andhra Pradesh only 484 Chambhar have been identified. Their customs and marriage rules are similar to Chamar.

Chandala:

Chandala is a numerically small caste found in the southern states. Only the spill over population of the Chandala has come in Census 2001. In Andhra Pradesh, they are mostly concentrated in the districts of Srikakulam, Anantapur, Visakhapatnam and East Godavari. They are the lowest caste and think to be the result of a intermarriage between a Sudra man and a Brahman woman. Their clothes are mantles of the deceased, their dishes are broken pots, their ornaments rusty iron. They move continually from place to place.

The traditional occupation of Chandala is stated to be cultivation and weaving. They are basically landless and these days earn their livelihood by daily wage, casual labour etc.

Dakkal, Dokkalwar:

Dakkals are also known as Dakkala, Dokkala, Dakaliga, and Dokkalwar in Andhra Pradesh. This community is considered as satellite caste of the Madiga. Hassan (1920) describes them as wandering beggars, who appear to be a degraded branch of Madiga and beg only from them. They lead a nomadic life moving from one village to the other begging from the Madiga households, singing songs praising Madigas. Some of them make articles from horns. Their women weave mats from the date palm leaves. Now, they also have started rearing pigs and donkeys besides poultry farming. They are distributed over the districts of Adilabad, Hyderabad, Medak, Mahabubnagar, Karimnagar, Khammam, Nalgonda, Nizamabad and Warangal. Social divisions among the Dakkal are on the basis of surnames, basically to regulate marriage alliances. They are an endogamous group, who follow exogamy at surnames level. They are placed low in social hierarchy and even the Madiga do not touch them. Scheduled Castes like Mala and Madiga do not accept food and water from the Dakkal and they are treated as untouchables. Being beggars, these people accept food and water from all castes.

Dandasi:

The Dandasi are traditionally employed as village watchmen in the northern coastal districts. Even now, some of them are working as village servants. Besides they are engaged in cultivation, cattle rearing, agricultural labour and selling firewood. They are combination of both land owning and landless people. They profess Hinduism. They are mainly distributed in East Godavari, Chittoor and Cuddapah districts, and also in Srikakulam districts. They have exogamous surname groups. Marriages are contracted between families of different surnames. The Dandasi accept water and cooked and uncooked food from all the communities but most of the communities do not accept from them.

Dhor:

The Dhors are hereditary tanners. Thurston (1909) refers to them as a low caste of Marathi leather workers. Dhors are tanners who mostly dwell in various parts of Bombay and speak Marathi. In Andhra Pradesh, they are scattered in small numbers in most of the

districts. These days, they also pursue cultivation and agricultural labour or general labour as their principal occupation.

Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano:

They are chiefly the sweepers. They are the people of the same stock who are by tradition weavers, musicians and labourers. They follow variety of occupations. Some of them work as labourers and village servants. Some of them do shifting cultivation in the Paderu agency area. Although their mother tongue is Oriya, they conversed locally in Telegu. Thurston (1909) cites that, the Doms are a Dravidian caste of weavers and menials, found in the hill tracts of Visakhapatnam. They applied to a class of beggars, weavers and musicians.

The Doms are divided into subdivisions and each subdivision is divided into clans. Each clan is again divided into lineages, which are akin to totemic groups. The Doms are an Endogamous group with Exogamous septs to govern marriages. They are aware of *Panna* system and consider themselves as Sudra, much inferior to other communities. Traditionally, they do not accept food and water from the Valmiki, Madiga and Mala and vice versa. They do not have free access to temples and common wells.

Ellamialawar, Yellammalawandlu:

This is a small community of only 540 people. As consequence, the traditional occupation and other details regarding this community is not available.

Ghasi, Haddi, Relli, Chanchandi:

Ghasi are Telugu speaking people, who have come from Orissa and reside in the Southern part of Ganjam district of Orissa. However, they also called themselves as Haddi. The name has reference to the occupation of cutting grass, especially for horses. Besides, cutting and setting grass, they are employed at scavenging work. The dead are usually buried. Castes lower than Ghasi are Khondras, and Jaggalis. They are endogamous with a number of exogamous divisions, which regulate marriages.

Godagali, Godagula:

The Godagali are Oriya community distributed in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Visakhapatnam districts in northern coastal Andhra. They work in split bamboo and make sundry articles not made by other castes. From split bamboo they make mats, winnowing fans etc. There are social divisions at clan and surname levels among the Godagali. They consider themselves superior to the Mala in social hierarchy. During marriage, they follow clan and surname exogamy.

The economic resource of the Godagali is the bamboo from forests, from which they prepare split bamboo and make winnows, sieves, mats, baskets etc. They are a landless community. Even today, their traditional occupation serves as their primary occupation. The subsidiary occupations of Godagali are rickshaw pulling and pig rearing. They perceive their community as belonging to the lowest rung of society. The Godagali accept water from all castes except the Mala, Madiga, Relli and Paky. The Brahman, Raju, Komati, Velama, Gavaria, Chakali and Mangali do not accept food and water from them. The Chakali (washer man) and Mangali (Barbers) serve them, nowadays.

Godari:

The Godari are distributed in Nellore, Krishna, West Godavari, East Godavari, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts of Andhra Pradesh. They are also referred to as Mochi. According to Thurston (1909), the Godari are Telegu leather workers in Ganjam and Visakhapatnam. The Godari has surname groups, which regulate marriage. They are endogamous at community level and exogamous at surname level. Cross cousin and uncle-niece marriages are permitted.

Leatherwork is the traditional occupation of the Godari. They are mentioned as having made and sold slippers in the districts. They purchase leather from the market and manufacture shoes. They are mostly self-employed. Some of them are working in tanning centres. They mainly repair as well as manufacture chappals, sandals and shoes on orders. They are also engaged in skilled work concerning rubber and leather goods. They consider themselves lower than other Hindu communities and claim higher status than Madiga in the social hierarchy. During occasions, they are served by Brahman, Chakali and Mangali.

However, Brahman and other higher castes do not accept food from them. They have free access to temple.

Gosangi:

The Gosangi were traditional village servants. There are two religious subgroups in the community, namely Hindu Gosangi and Muslim Gosangi. The community people say that the name is derived from their traditional occupation as caretakers of cattle. They are distributed in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad and Khammam districts and predominantly in the Karimnagar district. Community endogamy and surname exogamy are the marriage rules observed among Gosangi. Cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriages are allowed.

The traditional occupation of the Gosangi was as village servants and controllers of the village ponds. These days they also work as teachers, clerks, bank managers, constables etc. They claim a social hierarchy in between the Mala and Madiga Scheduled Castes. They traditionally accept food from the Mala, but not from Madiga. Besides they accept food and water from all the Hindu castes like Reddy, Velama and Kapu, but not Chakali and Mangali.

Holeyas:

They are the field labourers. They are divided into many subdivisions, which are exogamous in nature. The Holeyas are chiefly employed as labourers in connection with agriculture, and manufacture with handlooms various kinds of coarse cloth or home spun. Some of them are engaged in betel-vine gardening.

Holeyas Dasari:

The Holeyas Dasaris are divided into some patrilineal clans. Their traditional occupation is seeking alms. They also serve as the officiating priests for the Holeyas and Madiga. Some of them still pursue their traditional occupation, but they do not beg from Holeyas or Madiga anymore. At present, most of them are engaged in daily-wage labourer. They are Hindus.

Jaggali:

The Jaggali are living in the border areas of Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. They speak both Telegu and Oriya. The Jaggali are considered the lowest of all communities. They have several clans as well as many different surnames, which govern marital relations. The major source of livelihood for the Jaggali, mainly a landless community, is agriculture and agricultural labour, in addition to their traditional occupation of leather tanning. Some depend on stone cutting and a few on Government service. They are considered the lowest of all communities and considered Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudras as superior to them. All Hindu castes do not accept food and water from Jaggali while they (Jaggali) accept food from Mala, Mala Dasari, Mala, Jangama, Dakkala and Chalavadi. The Dakkala accept food and water from Jaggali, but not Mala and its subgroups.

Jambuvulu:

They mainly inhabit the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh, with a large concentration in East Godavari district. They mainly inhabit the rural areas and their traditional occupation is agricultural labour. They do not have any subgroups and have a single clan. They have several surname divisions, which regulate marriage alliances. The Jambuvulu consider them superior to the Madiga as they do not eat beef or work with leather tanning. The Jambuvulu are an endogamous group, as they do not marry outside their own community, and they strictly follow surname exogamy during marriages. They generally follow monogamy.

The Jambuvulu are landless, but their main occupation is agricultural labour in which both men and women participate. Recently, the employment programmes and other welfare schemes launched by the Government have benefited some of them. They traditionally accept food and water from all the higher castes like Brahmans, Kshatriya and Vaisya. Inter-community relations exist with other castes like Madiga, Jaggali and Kommula.

Kolupulvandlu, Pambada, Pambanda, Pambala:

The Hindus refer to them as Bindla in Telengana region. They are distributed all over the state and in all the three regions, viz., Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telengana. There are two subgroups among them, viz., Reddi Pambada and Mala Pambada or Savu Pambada. They have various clans as well as surnames, indicating place of origin. They are an endogamous group and exogamous surnames regulate marriage alliance.

The primary means of livelihood for them is land and their traditional occupation is agriculture. Some of them are employed in government services, but most of them are agricultural labourers. This community has a considerable number of teachers, administrators etc. They are Hindu by religion. They consider Brahman, Vysya, Kshatriya, Kapu, Kamma and Baliya as superior to them in social hierarchy. They traditionally accept cooked food and water from all the clean castes.

Madasi Kuruva, Madari Kuruva:

This is a small community with only 234 populations for the entire state. Their ethnic identity is not known and there is no information available on their traditional occupation.

Madiga:

They are also known as Arundhatiya, Jambuvulu, Jambhavanthulu and Adi Andhra. The Madiga, traditionally known as leather workers, are one of the major Scheduled Castes, apart from Mala. They are present in every village of Andhra Pradesh. In Southern India, all the castes are divided into right hand and left hand divisions. The Madiga are considered as belonging to the left hand division. The Madiga have two main divisions, Telegu Madiga and Kannada Madiga. Hassan (1920) mentioned 25 functional sub castes among the Madiga. Each sub castes are divided into numerous exogamous surnames. The Madiga are endogamous and their surnames act as exogamous factors governing the matrimonial alliances.

Some of the Madigas still engage in their traditional occupation of leatherwork. Others are agricultural labourers. Very few of them own land. These days few of them are

working in urban areas in white-collar jobs. They are Hindu by religion. They are placed low in social hierarchy.

Madiga Dasu, Mashteen:

The Madiga Dasus, a sect of Madigas, are priests and magicians. They are distributed in Guntur, Prakasam and Krishna districts. They occupy the highest social level among the various sub castes of the Madiga. They are divided into six divisions and have a number of exogamous surnames. They prefer both patrilineal and matrilineal cross-cousin marriages. They strictly follow caste endogamy.

Begging is the traditional occupation of Madiga Dasu, besides being priests of the community. They do not work with leather. Singing folklore and rendering folk-tales during fairs and festivals is also considered a traditional occupation. Their economic condition is worse than that of the Madiga, mainly because of their low level of education. These days, due to lack of requisite educational qualification, they are mainly engaged in agricultural labour. The Madiga Dasus are the spiritual advisers to the Madiga. The Madiga Dasu occupy the highest social level among other sub castes of Madiga and stand in hypergamous relation to their followers. They accept food from all the communities, except the Mala.

Mahar:

In Andhra Pradesh, they are concentrated in the districts of Hyderabad, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad and Karimnagar. They are numerically dominant in Adilabad districts. The Mahars are divided into 53 Endogamous divisions. According to Hassan (1920), they are divided into four main divisions, which have exogamous sections, which are not totemic but either territorial or refer to their founder. They have further divisions in their community, which are considered as surnames as well as clans and their main function is to regulate marriage alliances. The Mahars are exogamous at surname level.

Cultivation is their main occupation. They have small landholdings, where they raise crops like jawar, chillies and cotton. Resources are controlled by individual proprietorship. They also work as agricultural labourers. Nowadays, some of them are working as teachers, clerks, police constables, forest guards etc. Traditionally, higher caste

people like the Brahman, Vysya, Kapu and Telaga do not take food and water from the Mahar, while they do accept. They consider themselves superior to the Bhangi, Mang and Mochi and do not accept food or water from them.

Mala, Mala Ayawaru:

The Mala are also referred to as Adi Andhra. They are a broad generic category encompassing different untouchable groups. Almost every village is invariably inhabited by the Mala in their segregated hamlets. It is reported that in South India, all the castes are divided into two divisions, the right hand and the left hand divisions. According to Thurston (1909), the Mala are identified as a right hand caste and the Madiga, as the left hand caste. Reddy (1952) has reported that the Mala has 12 endogamous divisions in their society. Each of them has several surnames, which act as exogamous sectors while governing marriage alliances.

The traditional occupation of Mala is weaving, but most of them have given up this occupation now. In the rural areas, most of them are landless agricultural labourers. The cooked food of the Mala is not accepted by any other caste not even by the Madiga. The traditional antagonism between these two Scheduled Castes finds expression not only in their having separate hamlets but even also in eating separately in the agricultural fields while at work.

Mala Dasari:

The Mala Dasaris neither interdine nor intermarry with other Malas. They serve as priests, officiate at marriage ceremonies and perform funeral rites to the Mala.

The traditional occupation of the Mala Dasari is begging alms by singing religious songs from door to door and village to village. One in each family is ordained to do this job and other persons of the family are engaged in some other occupations like agricultural labour, casual labour etc. Some families indulge in their traditional occupation only on festive occasions. The educated among them are settled in government job availing the Scheduled Castes reservations. The Mala Dasari traditionally accept water and cooked food from upper castes like Brahman, Vysya, Kshatriya and Sudras, but not from Malas, from whom they only accept money, raw food items or new clothes.

Mala Dasu:

In Andhra Pradesh the Mala Dasu and Mala Dasari are the regional names prevalent in different districts. Traditionally they are also known to have made their living by organising street plays during festive occasions. However, today they are occupied in other areas like cultivation, agricultural labourer and fortune telling. Some of them sing in marriages and deaths. Marriages are arranged within the caste but between different surnames.

Mala Hannai:

All over Andhra Pradesh only 3 Mala Hannai have been found. Due their population size, even K.S. Singh could not trace this community.

Mala Jangam:

The Mala Jangam claim superiority over the Mala and do not have any subgroups. They are mainly distributed in the districts of Hyderabad, Medak, Mahbubnagar, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Nalgonda and Adilabad of Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh. They have a number of surnames, which are exogamous and based on which marriage alliances are fixed. Thus, they are endogamous at the community level and exogamous at surname level.

The Mala Jangam's traditional occupation is to officiate as priests at the ceremonies of the Saivite Mala. Since, it is insufficient, they also beg from the Mala for food grains like rice. Some of them own land, but most of them are agricultural labourers. A few of them have taken to government employment and are working as teachers, clerks, police constables, excise constables, watchmen, peons etc. Upper caste people like the Brahman, Komati and Reddi do not take food and water from them. However, barbers and washermen serve them. They consider themselves superior to Mala, Madiga, Dakkala etc. and so do not accept food from them.

Mala Masti:

There are no social divisions among the Mala Masti. All the members are belong to one clan. They have surnames, mostly derived from place names, which regulate their marriage alliances. They follow community endogamy and surname exogamy. They claim superior status over the Madiga.

The traditional and primary occupation of the Mala Masti is begging from the Mala caste. Besides, they engage secondarily in agricultural labour, carpentry, rickshaw pulling etc. The Mala Mastis are landless community. At present they are distributed in the local areas of Bhimaran, Medipalli, Nirmal, Yongopeta, Takallapalli, Rajapuram, Mannegudem, Mettupalli, Maddipalli, Allipuram, Gottimukkula and Nizamabad of Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh.

Mala Sale, Nethani:

This community's name is derived from its traditional occupation, weaving by handloom. Their major distribution is in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Warangal districts of Telengana. Social divisions exist among Mala Sales at the surname level, which act as exogamous septs during marriages. As a result, they follow endogamy at community level and exogamy at surname level.

The present primary occupation of the Mala Sale is agricultural labour. Some cultivate their own lands and some other's land in the share cropping system. A few of them are in government services like watchmen, clerks and teachers. The Mala Sale are Hindus. They accept food and water from communities like Kapu, Velama, and Viswabrahman. Mala and Madiga accept water and food from them.

Mala Sanyasi:

This is a very small community. At present they have a populations of 120 all over Andhra Pradesh. Due to their small size, even K.S. Singh could not trace this community. Therefore, ethnic identity and traditional occupation of this community is not known.

Mang:

The Mang live predominantly in the Maharashtra state. In Andhra Pradesh, they are distributed in Nizamabad, Medak, Adilabad and Hyderabad. Their traditional occupation is making the leather goods due to which they are called Madiga. It has now given away to agricultural labour and agriculture. Thus, the Mang are engaged in agriculture labour, as well as casual labourers or as attendants in the government offices etc.

At surname level, the Mang have several exogamous divisions. They also have 25 endogamous sub-divisions (Enthoven 1922). However, according to Hassan (1920), the Mang are divided into eight endogamous divisions. These divisions rule their marriage alliances. They render traditional service to all communities in the village, but barbers and washer men do not serve them. They accept food from all the castes except the Mala, Dakkal, Mahar, Mehtar etc., and no other caste accepts cooked food and water from them.

Mang Garodi:

They generally inhabit in the Telangana area. They are also distributed in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. They have exogamous divisions at surname level, which control their marriages. They do casual labour or dressing the buffaloes. Some of them drive auto rickshaws. A few of them work in private shops. The Mang Garodis are Hindus. They consider as the lowest caste in the social hierarchy. They receive services from washer men, barbers etc. People of other Hindu caste do not accept food or water from them except the Dakkal.

Manne:

The Manne are a community of agriculturists, agricultural labourers and village watchmen found throughout the rural areas of Telangana region. There are no major social divisions among the Manne. They have several surnames, which are named mostly after village names. These regulate marriages. They are endogamous and follow surname exogamy. Although traditional occupation of the Manne is agriculture and village watchmen, these days they are shifted to petty business, jobs in government offices and

factories etc. Their natural resources are land, water and forest. They are both landowning and landless community.

Mashti:

The ethnic identity and traditional occupation of this community is not known and even K.S. Singh has not given account on them. In Andhra Pradesh, a Mashti population of 2281 is found scattered in different districts.

Matangi:

They are a Scheduled Caste in coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema districts. They are concentrated in Kurnool, Chittoor, Anantapur, East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts. They are sparsely distributed in West Godavari, Guntur, Krishna, Mahbubnagar, Rangareddy, Hyderabad, Medak, Adilabad, Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts. There are no subgroups among Matangi. They are divided into a number of exogamous clans. Each of their clans is further sub-divided into surnames, indication place names and occupations. Both the clan and surname regulate the marriage alliances. Most of them are landless and work as agricultural labourers. Their traditional and primary occupation is begging by singing folk songs. Some herd goats, breed pigs, pull rickshaws or work as porters or farm labour. They do not accept food and water from the Mala and other communities. They act as priests and accept food and water from all the higher castes. They do not suffer social disabilities like other SCs and have free access to temples and religious shrines.

Mehtar:

Mehtar are traditionally engaged as sweepers and scavengers and are known by different names in different parts of the country. They are mainly distributed in different districts of Telangana, like Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts. The Mehtar have two groups among them, viz., Marwari, Mehtar and Calcutta Mehtar. They have several exogamous surname divisions among them, which regulate their marriage alliances. These surname divisions have equal status.

The traditional occupation of the Mehtar is scavenging. The government or municipality scavengers sweep public places including drains and latrines. Some are employees in houses. Besides, they work as labourers. They are mainly a landless community and a service caste. These days, some of its members hold white-collar jobs.

Mitha Ayyalvar:

They are a community of priests to the Mala and Madiga in the Telangana region. They also known as Mala Ayyalvar. They are distributed in the Mahbubnagar, Hyderabad, Rangareddy, Medak, Nizamabad, Adilabad, Warangal and Karimnagar districts. There no major social divisions among them. They have different surnames, which regulate their marriages.

The traditional occupation of the Mitha Ayyaravarulu is to officiate as priests on the ritual occasion of the Mala and Madiga and begging alms by narrating stories or street dramas. In the morning, they themselves engage in these begging /street dramas and after lunch, they go to the agricultural fields. Nowadays, they are shifting to petty jobs and labour work in government offices, factories etc. They believe they are superior to the Mala, Madiga, Mala Jangam, Sindollu and Dakkala, in the local social hierarchy. They do not take food from the Mala, Madiga, Chakali and Mangali.

Mundala:

This community is a subdivision of Holeyas. Holeyas are divided into many subdivisions, but the most important are Mari, Mera and Mundala. They do not touch dead cows or leather, especially in the form of shoes.

Paky, Moti, Thoti:

The Paky are distributed in Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Krishna, Guntur, East Godavari and West Godavari districts and in some parts of Telangana areas. Among the Paky, there are exogamous surnames, which regulate marriage alliances. Hence, marriage within the same surnames is strictly prohibited. The Paky regard themselves as inferior to many communities like the Brahman, Komati, Raju, Kamsala, Velama, Kopu, Majjula and Kummara, as well as communities like Relli. They consider

Ghasi, Madiga, Mala, and Pamidi as inferior to them. They classify themselves as Sudras. They accept food and water from all the communities and render their services to all communities except Mala and Madiga. They exchange food with Relli, Sapru and Chachati castes.

The Paky are mainly a landless community. Traditionally, they are employed as scavengers and sweepers by the municipalities and city corporations. In villages, they are employed in scavenging work and agricultural labour. Few of them are employed in government and private services. They accept food and water from all the communities and render their services to all communities except Mala and Madiga. They exchange food with Relli, Sapru and Chachati castes.

Pamidi:

The Pamidi are a community of weavers, musicians and labourers. They are distributed in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Pamidi have exogamous surname groups, which are useful in regulation of marriages. They consider themselves inferior to Brahman, Kshatriya, Vysya, Kapu, Majjula, Velama, Kamsali, Telaga, Mala, Madiga, and Dandasi etc. as these communities do not accept cooked food and water from Pamidi. They, however accept food from most of the castes like Brahman, Telaga, Kapu, Majjula and Komati, but not from Madiga, Paky, Relli and Chakali. Ritual based friendship is established with Madiga, Paky, Relli and Mangali. They are mostly involved in weaving cotton blankets, saris and towels and Petty trade. Some of them are agricultural labourers. It is mostly a landless community.

Panchama, Pariah:

The term Panchama refers to the fifth *Varna*. Those belonging to Panchama now prefer to call themselves Adi-Andhra. They even consider their community as Mala in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. They distribute mainly in East Godavari districts. The Panchama have different surnames, whose main function is to indicate descent and regulate marriage alliances. Hence, endogamy at community level and exogamy at surname level is the general marriage rule.

The community perceive its place in the social hierarchy, above the Jambavulu and below the Brahman, Raju, Komati, Kapu, Setti Baliha, Gowda and Golla. However, all these communities accept food from Panchama during occasions. They recognise their place in *Varna* system as Sudra and their status at the local level is medium.

The Panchama are mainly a landless community. Their tradition and present primary occupation is agricultural labour. Besides, they also do toddy tapping, removing the coconuts from the trees, cycle rickshaw pulling etc. Some of them are engaged in painting, name carves on stones, carpentry, masonry etc.

Relli:

Relli refers to a kind of grass in Telegu, as their chief means of their livelihood was the cutting and selling of *rellu* grass. Hence, the caste name Relli. Later on, they changed their occupation from grass cutting to fruit selling. They are distributed in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Nellore, Prakasam and Chittoor. There are four sub divisions, viz., Relli (fruit and vegetable vendors and scavengers), Kapu Relli (mostly agriculturists), Konda Relli (those live in hills) and Savalapuram Relli (thieves). They also have clans and several surnames, which regulate marriage alliances.

They consider Brahman, Kshatriya, Vysya and Sudra as superior to them and Madiga as inferior to them. Relli do not take food or water from Mala, Madiga and Paky. Except Paky, other castes do not accept food from the Relli.

The primary occupation of the Relli is the collection and Sale of fruits, seeds and grass. They have also taken up other occupations such as sweeping in municipalities, petty jobs in public and private organizations and scavenging. A few are in government service.

Samagara:

They are known as the principal caste of leather workers. They speak Marathi and are divided into two endogamous groups. They estimate as low as Holeyas in social hierarchy. The tanning industry is chiefly carried on by the Samagaras.

Samban:

The Samban are distributed in the Prakasam, Nellore, Chittoor, East Godavari, West Godavari, Hyderabad and Rangareddy districts of Andhra Pradesh. They are migrants from TamilNadu. They have different clans and surnames, which regulate their marriage alliances. They follow endogamy at the community level and exogamy at surname level.

The traditional occupation of the Samban is salt making and fishing. In Chittoor, some of them are actively engaged in inland fishing. Some of them are casual labourers and vegetable vendors. Some have established limestone industries, while some work as clerks, peons in government offices. The community has entrepreneurs, businessmen, teachers etc. The Samban accepts food and water from Brahman, Vysya and Reddi, but not from the servicing castes like Chakali and Mangali.

Sapru:

This is a small community with only 656 populations in Andhra Pradesh. There are no account about their ethnic identity and traditional occupation.

Sindhollu, Chindollu:

They are one of the satellite groups of the Madiga. Presently, they are found in the rural areas of Telangana region, mainly in the districts like Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Adilabad, Warangal, Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Karimnagar and Khammam. The Sindhollu are an endogamous group, who have few surnames/family names, which are exogamous, without any hierarchical differentiation, only to regulate marriage alliances.

The Sindhollu are mainly a landless community. Their traditional occupation is performing *Sindhata* or *Veedkubhagavatham*, giving performances of some scenes from epics like the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata* and collecting contributions both in cash and kind from the households in the village. Their subsidiary occupation is agricultural labour. Nowadays, a few have become landowners. They consider themselves lower in status than the Mala and Madiga, but higher than Dakkala. Other communities treat them as part of Madiga, the lowest and poorest section of the Hindu Society.

Yatala:

This is a Schedule caste recently added to the presidential list.

Valluvan:

The word Valluvan is said to be derived from *Val*, which means leather strap.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In exercise of the power conferred by clause (1) of Article 341 of the Constitution of India, the President, after consultation with the Governors and Rajpramukhs of the States concerned, made the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 in relation to all States except Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland and Sikkim on 10-8-1950.

2 In the following year, President made the Constitution Scheduled Castes (Union Territories) Order 1951 on 20-9-1951 for Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Delhi and Mizoram. Subsequently, President made some more Orders in relation to other States. Under the Constitution, these Orders could be varied only by a law of Parliament.

3 The Constitution of India has defined Scheduled Castes as under:

Article 366(24) - "Scheduled Castes" means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under article 341 to be Scheduled Castes for the purpose of the Constitution.

4 According to the provisions of Articles 341 of the Constitution of India, the Scheduled Castes can be specified only in relation to a particular State/Union Territory. The relevant provisions are mentioned hereunder: -

Article 341(1): - The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory and where it is a State after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be.

Article 341 (2): - Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification, issued under clause (1) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

5 The above Articles were made after a careful consideration and debates in the Constituent Assembly of India. The excerpts of the views of some prominent Members on this issue are as under:

(i) Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:

It is now proposed that the President, in consultation with the Governor or Ruler of a State should have, the power to issue a general notification in the Gazette specifying all the Castes and Tribes or groups thereof deemed to be Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of the privileges which have been defined for them in the Constitution. The only limitation that has been imposed is this: that once a notification has been issued by the President, which, undoubtedly, he will be issuing in consultation with and on the advice of the Government of each State, thereafter, if any elimination was to be made from the List so notified or any addition was to be made, that must be made by Parliament and not by the President. The object is to eliminate any kind of political factors having a play in the matter of the disturbance of the Schedule so published by the President.

(ii) Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:

Whereas I am, very insistent and conscious that these provisions should not be tampered with, I do like that castes may not become stereotyped and may not lose the capacity of travelling out of the schedule when the right occasion demands it.

(iii) Shri Kuladhar Chaliha:

The Governor has been given power I am glad to say. The only thing is provincial assemblies have no voice in this. Whatever Parliament says they are bound by it, but if there is anything which consistently with the orders of the Parliament they can do anything, they should better allowed to have the power. That is why I have moved this. However, I am thankful this time that the Drafting Committee has assimilated good ideas and only provincial assemblies have been neglected. However, the Governor is there - that is an improvement - Parliament, is there and the President is there.

(iv) Shri V.I. Muniswami Pillai:

As far as I can see he has made it clear that, according to the second part of it, the President on the 26th January 1950 will publish a list of such communities that come under the category of Scheduled Castes. But I would like to inform this House of the background which brought out the special name of Scheduled Castes. It was the untouchability, the social evil that has been practiced by the Hindu Community for ages, that was responsible for the Government and the people to know the section of people coming under the category of Hindus and who were kept at the outskirts of the Hindu society. Going backwards to 1916 it was in that year when Government found that something had to be

done for the untouchable classes, (when they said untouchable classes, they were always understood to be Hindus) and they had to be recognised.

6 The test for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes.

(a) The test applied for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes is 'extreme social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of traditional practice of untouchability.'

(b) The Hon'ble Supreme Court in their judgment reported in AIR 1976 SC 490 in the case of State of Kerala and another Vs. N. M. Thomas and others at para 63 has observed "The important task of construing the articles of a Constitution is not an exercise in mere syllogism. It necessitates an effort to find the true purpose and object, which underlies that article. The historical background, the felt necessities of the time, the balancing of the conflicting interests must all enter into the crumble when the court is engaged in the delicate task of construing the provisions of a Constitution." Keeping in mind the historical facts regarding inclusion of communities in the list of Scheduled Castes it is evident from the subsequent paragraphs that untouchability was considered as the factor for such inclusions in the list of Scheduled Castes.

(c) During the framing of the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly recognized "that the Scheduled Castes were a backward section of the Hindu community who were handicapped by the practice of untouchability" and that "this evil practice of untouchability was not recognized by any other religion."

(d) A reference was also made in the Report of the Advisory Committee on the Revision of Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, which is cited below to further clarify the criteria adopted for drawing the list of Scheduled Castes:-

"The relevant records show that in drawing up the list of Scheduled Castes, the test applied was the social, educational and economic backwardness arising out of historical custom of untouchability. The list of Scheduled Castes drawn in 1950 was a revised version of the list of Scheduled Castes under the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936, made under the Government of India Act, 1935, which in turn was the continuation of the earlier list of "depressed classes". The depressed classes, it is well known, were systematically categorized in 1931 by the

Census Commissioner for India who had given the following instructions for the purpose of such categorization: -

"I have explained depressed castes as castes, contact with whom entails purification on the part of high caste Hindus. It is not intended that the term should have any reference to occupation as such but to those castes which by reasons of their traditional position in Hindu society are denied access to temples, for instance, or have to use separate wells or are not allowed to sit inside a school house but have to remain outside or suffer similar social disabilities."

7 **Excerpts from the Advisory Committee on the Revision of the Lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.**

(a) The Government of India set up an Advisory Committee on the Revision of the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Chairmanship of Shri B.N. Lokur, the then Secretary to the Government of India on 1-6-1965 to revise the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in a rational and scientific manner. The Committee while giving its recommendation to the Government of India on the revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes raised some important issues regarding sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes. It is mentioned in the report that it had been in evidence for some time that a lion's share of the various benefits and concessions earmarked for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is appropriated by the numerically larger and politically well organised communities. The smaller and more backward communities have tended to get lost in democratic processes, though most deserving special aid. Though there is no escape from the larger and politically more conscious groups asserting themselves in the political field, it appears that in matters of planning and development, distribution of benefits needs to be focussed on the more backward and smaller groups on a selective basis. At one stage, the Committee thought of suggesting separation of political rights from development benefits but did not make the suggestion. The Committee suggested that the various castes and tribes in the lists should be administratively classified or categorised so as to give higher priority in planning and development to the more needy, and lower priority for the comparatively advanced. In view of the limitation of time, the Committee could not make

the classification or categorisation and left the task to be undertaken by the Department of Social Security in consultation with the State Governments. The consensus of the opinion expressed before us has been that the emphasis should be on the gradual elimination of the larger and more advanced communities from these lists and on focussing greater attention on the really backward sections, preferably by applying an economic yardstick.

(b) It is further mentioned in the report that after considering the observations of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the reports for the years 1956-57 and 1957-58, an authoritative pronouncement in the matter was made by the Estimate Committee in its Forty-eighth Report for the year 1958-59 as follows:-

"While the Committee consider that it is desirable that preference be given to the less advanced among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in provision of all facilities, they would like to observe that the tendency on the part of some castes and tribes to get themselves listed as backward merely to get concessions is undesirable and must be discouraged. In this connection, the Committee would like to reproduce below an extract from the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1956:-

"Backwardness has a tendency to perpetuate itself and those who are listed as backward try to remain as such, due to various concessions and benefits they derive, and thus backwardness becomes a vested interest."

(c) The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had suggested in his Report for 1957-58, that if the ultimate goal of classless and casteless society is to be attained, the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and even of Other Backward Classes will have to be reduced from year to year and replaced in due course by a list based on the criteria of Income-cum-Merit.

(d) The report of the Committee mentioned that the Study Team on Social Welfare of Backward Classes had expressed the following views:-

"The central idea is to introduce a gradation in the pattern of assistance to make sure that those economically less advanced among them get proportionately higher benefits than those which are somewhat better off."

8 In view of the weighty views expressed above and in the interests of national integration, the Committee felt that the time has come when the question of descheduling of relatively advanced communities should receive serious and urgent consideration.

9 Views of the Apex Court.

(a) The Hon'ble Supreme Court in the Marri Chandra Shekhar Rao Vs. the Dean, Seth G.S. Medical College, Vs. Union of India in W.P.(C) No. 989 of 1990, decided on 18.07.1994 {(1994) Supreme Court case 244} held, "..... extreme social and economic backwardness arising out of traditional practices of untouchability is normally considered as criterion for including a community in the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The social conditions of a caste, however, varies from State to State and it will not be proper to generalize any caste or any tribe as a Scheduled Tribe or Scheduled Caste for the whole country."

(b). The Supreme Court in the Writ Petition No.9596 of 1983 in the case of Soosai etc. Vs. the Union of India and others reported in AIR 1986 SC page 733 observed that: -

"Now it cannot be disputed that the caste system is a feature of the Hindu social structure. It is a social phenomenon peculiar to Hindu society. The division of the Hindu social order by reference at one time to professional or vocational occupation was moulded into a structural hierarchy, which over the centuries crystallized into a stratification where the place of the individual was determined by birth. Those who occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder were treated as existing beyond the periphery of civilized society, and were indeed not even "touchable". This social attitude committed those castes to severe social and economic disabilities and cultural and educational backwardness. And through most of Indian history, the oppressive nature of the caste structure has denied to those disadvantaged castes the fundamentals of human dignity, human self-respect and even some of the attributes of the human personality. Both history and later day practice in Hindu society are heavy with evidence of this oppressive tyranny, and despite the efforts of several noted social reformers, specially during the last two centuries, there has been a crying need for the emancipation of the depressed classes from the degrading conditions of their social and economic servitude. Dr J.

H. Hutton, Census Commissioner of India, framed a list of the depressed classes systematically, and that list was made on the basis of an order promulgated by the British Government in India called the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936. The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 is substantially modelled on the Order of 1936. The Order of 1936 enumerated several castes, races or tribes in an attached Schedule and they were, by paragraph 2 of the Order, deemed to be Scheduled Castes. During the framing of the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly recognized "that the Scheduled Castes were a backward section of the Hindu community who were handicapped by the practice of untouchability", and that "this evil practice of untouchability was not recognized by any other religion and the question of any Scheduled Caste belonging to a religion other than Hinduism did not therefore arise."

(c) The Supreme Court in the case of State of Kerala Vs. N. M. Thomas, AIR 1976 SC 490 has observed:

"Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not a caste within the ordinary meaning of caste. In Bhaiya Lal Vs. Harikishan Singh, 1965 (2) SCR 877-(AIR) 1965 SC 1557) this Court held that an enquiry whether the appellant there belonged to the Dohar caste which was not recognized as a Scheduled Caste and his declaration that he belonged to the Chamar caste which was a Scheduled Caste could not be permitted because of the provisions contained in Art. 341. No Court can come to a finding that any caste or tribe is a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe. Scheduled Caste is a caste as notified under Art. 366 (24). A notification is issued by the President under Art. 341 as a result of an elaborate enquiry. The object of Art. 341 is to provide protection to the members of Scheduled Castes having regard to the economic and educational backwardness from which they suffer."

10 Excerpts from the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1986-87.

(a) The then Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in 28th Report 1986-87, had also raised the issue of differential growth among different communities belonging to Scheduled Castes wherein it is mentioned in para 3.28 that reference had already been made to the differential growth amongst different communities belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This process is likely to get further

accentuated as the opportunities in the larger economy become available to members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes equitably. The implications of differential growth for the weaker communities and the late starters are becoming increasingly clear. The representation in the recruitment to the All India Services is highly skewed. A few communities are accounting for bulk of these positions year after year while the bulk of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, particularly the latter, who are educationally backward cannot claim even a handful; some of them have yet to start the score. The competition for reserved vacancies at the all India level thus is becoming a competition amongst unequals. Similar situation is also arising in other States and there is a feeling of discontent, albeit subdued, amongst members of those communities who are unable to compete with the comparatively advanced groups. This issue has been sought to be resolved in the States of Meghalaya and Nagaland, which are tribal majority States and governed by tribal elite by adopting a policy of reservation for comparatively less advanced tribal communities according to the relative strength of their numbers. As the benefits of education reach out to the weaker groups and the remoter areas, the first generation educated youth will find it difficult to make a mark even in the limited competition for reserved positions. It is time that this issue is considered in all its aspects and the less advanced amongst the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are enabled to enter the public sector through a policy of special positive discrimination in their favour.

(b) It is further mentioned in para 3.30 of the Report that encouraged by these gains, albeit isolated so far, after the area restriction removal in 1976, many communities were making a bid to enter the list of the Scheduled Tribes. While there are some anomalies as in the case of Kols and Gonds living on the borders of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, who have been listed as Scheduled Tribes in Madhya Pradesh and Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh, many other claims appear to be prompted by the gains which those communities are likely to make not only by virtue of their being listed as one of the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes but more by the fact that in a situation of unequal competition within the larger group of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, as the case may be, they will be able to make big immediate gains in a situation of unequal competition.

11 Report of Justice P. Ramachandra Raju (Retd) on sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes.

(a) In pursuance of Government Order No.99 of Social Welfare (J1) Department, dated 10th September 1996, the State Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed an Enquiry Commission on sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh with Justice P. Ramachandra Raju (Retd) as its Chairman. The terms of reference of the Commission were as under:

The Commission will go into all aspects of reservation in employment and admissions into educational institutions now available to Scheduled Castes and examine

- (i) Whether a disproportionately large number of benefits have gone to any particular sub caste of Scheduled Castes; and
- (ii) if so, to indicate all such steps as are necessary and required to be taken to ensure that the above benefits are equitably distributed among the various sub-castes of Scheduled Castes.

(b) The Commission had collected elaborate statistics about literacy rates among the Scheduled Caste communities, the extent of employment of different castes at different levels of Government service or in other services including State Corporations, employment in Universities, in Central Government, in Central Government Undertakings as well as the extent of their educational qualifications at various levels. The Commission had visited certain Districts like Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, Mahaboobnagar and Ananthapur during its tenure.

Based on the report of the Commission, the Government of Andhra Pradesh divided the list of Scheduled Castes, indicated in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 into 4 categories and fixed separate quota in reservation for each of these categories. The Supreme Court in its judgment in the matter of E.V. Chinnaiah vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and Others (2204(9) scale)

held that the Act of the State Government for sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes is violative of Article 341(2) of the Constitution, also lacks in the legislative competence and violative of Article 14 of the Constitution of India.

12 Unanimous Resolutions:

The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly had thrice passed following historical and unanimous resolutions supported by all political parties across the board for categorisation of Scheduled Caste reservations into A, B, C and D.

- (1) The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly on 22nd April 1998 had passed the resolution unanimously on need to categorise Scheduled Caste reservation into ABCD as recommended by Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission.
- (2) The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly had unanimously passed the Scheduled Caste Reservation (Rationalisation) Act 20 of 2000 on 1st April 2000.
- (3) In the light of recent Supreme Court judgment, the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly had also passed the following unanimous resolution on 10th December 2004 recommending to the Government of India to take up the matter in the Parliament for enabling Scheduled Caste categorisation by the State.

"The House had passed Resolution on 22nd April 1998 for categorisation of Scheduled Castes as recommended by Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission. In view of the recent Supreme Court judgment, the House resolves to recommend to the Government of India to take up the matter in the Parliament."

13 Sub categorisation in other States.

The Government of Punjab and Haryana had also sub-categorized the Scheduled Castes through executive Orders in 1975 and 1994 respectively. In this regard, the two letters of Government of Punjab and Haryana are mentioned hereunder to explain the matter:

- (a) Excerpts from letter No.1786-3'WI-75/23005, dated 19th September 1975 from Secretary to Government, Punjab Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes to All Heads of Departments, Commissioners and Divisions, District & Session Judges, Deputy Commissioners and Registrar, Punjab & Haryana High Court and copy to others.

It is mentioned in the aforesaid letter that Government have decided that henceforth, 50% vacancies of the quota reserved for Scheduled Castes would be offered to Balmikis and Mazbhi Sikhs, if available, as first preference from amongst the Scheduled Castes candidates, in direct recruitment only and not in promotion cases. It has also been decided that promotion cases already decided in the light of aforesaid instructions are not to be opened."

- (b) Excerpts from the letter No. 22/55/90-3GS-III, dated the 9th November, 1994 of the Chief Secretary, Government of Haryana, addressed to all Heads of Departments, Commissioners Ambala, Hissar, Rohtak and Gurgaon Divisions and all Deputy Commissioners and Sub Divisional Officers (Civil) in Haryana.

It is mentioned in the aforesaid letter that the Government has reviewed the existing policy of reservation for Scheduled Castes in direct recruitment to Government services and decided as under:-

- (I) For the purpose of reservation in services, the Scheduled Castes in Haryana will be put in two categories i.e. Block 'A' and Block 'B'. Block 'B' will consist of Chamars, Jatia Chamars, Rahgara, Raigars, Ramdasi or Ravidasi. Block 'A' will consist of the remaining 36 Scheduled Castes.
- (II) Within the quota reserved for Scheduled Castes in direct recruitment to Government jobs, 50% vacancies will be offered to candidates from Block 'A'. In case suitable candidates from Block 'A' are not available, candidates from Block 'B', may be recruited against these vacancies.

Similarly, candidates from Block 'B' will be given preference in respect of the remaining 50% vacancies. In case suitable candidates from Block 'B' are not available, candidates from Block 'A' may be recruited against these vacancies.

- (I) The inter-se seniority of the candidates from Block 'A' and Block 'B' will be as per the common merit list prepared by the recruiting agency. It will not be necessary to fix the roster points separately for each of the Blocks within the present roster system.
- (II) If on a particular occasion the total number of vacancies meant for Scheduled Castes is odd, say 5 of them will go to Block 'A' and 4 to Block 'B'. On the next such occasion, however, the position would be reversed, that is, 4 of them will go to Block 'A' and 5 to Block 'B'.
- (c) The Government of Karnataka has set up a Commission to look into the matter of sub categorisation in the State.

14 Categorisation of Backward Classes.

(a) In the matter related with Indra Sawhney and Others Vs. Union of India (1992 Supp (3) SCC210) in the Supreme Court of India, it was asked whether backward classes can be further divided into backward and more backward categories?

(b) In this matter, it was held that there is no constitutional or legal bar to a State categorising the backward classes as backward and more backward. So even among backward classes, there can be a sub-classification on a reasonable basis. Whether the backward classes can be classified into Backward and More Backward, would depend upon the facts of each case. However, for each of them a special quota has to be prescribed.

GIST OF REPRESENTATIONS RECEIVED FROM VARIOUS CASTES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

The Commission has received a number of representations from individuals and organisations from Andhra Pradesh on the various facets of demands on the issue of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes. All the representations are given in Annexure III. The gist of the representations has been given in the following paragraphs:

Representations from the Mala community

- (1). The scope of the Commission should cover all the States in the country.

It is argued that as one of the terms of reference is that the Commission would examine the constitutional, statutory and legal ramifications of the demand for sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in matters of reservation in all its aspects, therefore, it is expected to be in depth study of not only in matters relating to services, admissions into educational institutions but also the reservation of seats in Parliament, State Legislative Assemblies, Panchayats and also Municipalities. All these are National issues and should include the study of the ramifications of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in other States and Union Territories as well.

- (2). Constitution of India does not provide for sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes.

It is submitted that so far as term of reference of the Commission are concerned, it is stated that none of the Constitutional provisions relating to Scheduled Castes provide for their sub categorisation. The relevant Constitutional Articles are 15(4), 15(5), 16(4), 16(4)(A), 16(4)(B), 17, 46, 243 D, 243 T, 330, 332, 334, 335, 338, 341 and 336(24).

- (3). The communities included in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order are homogenous group and cannot be sub divided

A conjoint reading of Article 341 and 335 establish that "all the members" of the Scheduled Castes notified by the President as a unit are entitled to avail the rights assured in the Constitution as a homogenous group.

- (4) Madiga is not numerically dominant caste.

According to 1931 Census, the Malas including Adi Andhras constitute the single majority sub-caste. As per 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census, the Mala group constitutes the majority of the Scheduled Caste in the State.

- (5) Quality education may be imparted to disadvantaged among the Scheduled Castes instead of sub categorisation.

(a) In 1984, Andhra Christian Law College, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh organized a seminar on reservation. In his inaugural speech, Justice Ramaswamy had stated that reservation in education as well as public employment is meant for all people among the notified Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and their claims shall be considered for the purpose of the Constitution namely admission in professional courses or public employment. By reason of employment gained by some persons among the Scheduled Castes and education given to their children in convent schools, they would be better qualified. But the children in rural India studying in schools or colleges maintained by the Government, Municipalities etc. in regional languages do not have the same quality education of the children studied in convent schools.

(b) Therefore, it was suggested that the reservation should percolate from the bottom and each first generation children from agricultural labourers, daily wagers, domestic helps, bonded labourers, scavengers, cobblers, qualified and eligible be given first priority and admitted or employed. The left over seats or posts be given to children of small farmers, Class IV and III employees; still the left over seats or posts be given to all the other Scheduled Castes. This method of opportunity for admission in professional courses or public employment would enable each first generation students/employees to get social justice and justice done to all the members of the Scheduled Castes.

- (6). The sub categorisation is politically motivated.

The categorisation of the Scheduled Castes into various sub-categories is only a political ploy to destroy the unity among the Scheduled Castes built up by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar for the purpose of political power to form the Government.

- (7). Madiga community is better off than Mala.

Mala remained without any particular vocational and professional occupations unlike the other Scheduled Caste people have. They are only agricultural coolies and labourers with unbearable living conditions and always had been below poverty line. The life of Mala becomes miserable whenever there is natural calamities; but Madiga who has own profession such as business in leather, manufacturing shoes and chappals etc escapes from such calamities. The State Government as well as the Central Government have been providing several schemes for the upliftment of Madiga caste whereas the Mala caste does not have such facilities. Some of the schemes wherein Madigas are getting higher benefits are as under :

- (a). Leather Industries Development Corporation of Andhra Pradesh;
 - (b). Scholarships by State to students;
 - (c). Unclean labour child scheme;
 - (d). Scheduled Caste Development Corporation; and
 - (e). Grants to Non Governmental Organisations;
- (8). The difference in levels of development among various communities listed as Scheduled Castes is due to the effect of regional imbalances.

In Andhra Pradesh, there are three distinct geographical regions namely Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telengana. Coastal area of the State is rich and well developed where facilities for development of all the communities are better since pre independence days. As such, not only the Scheduled Castes of the coastal area but other communities also are ahead in development when compared to those in Telengana and Rayalaseema regions. The development in Rayalaseema region is less than that of coastal area but certainly better than that of Telengana region. Telengana region being under Nizam Rule

for centuries did not have the opportunity to development as much as Coastal and Rayalaseema areas, in pre independence days and remained lagging behind even after independence. Thus the attainment and achievement of Scheduled Castes in coastal area had a head start and the lead continues even to day.

(9) The National Commission for Scheduled Castes has not supported sub categorisation.

(i) The National Commission for Scheduled Castes had twice given recommendation that the proposal for the categorisation of Scheduled Castes may not be accepted. Their observations are as under:-

- (a) The terms of reference of the Raju Commission was restricted to public employment and admissions in educational institutions. No scientific method has been adopted to find out the holistic picture of the varying levels of development of different Scheduled Caste communities.
- (b) The findings of the Raju Commission was based on extremely limited and inadequate data; any orders based on such findings and recommendations cannot be rational and valid.
- (c) The grouping of Scheduled Caste communities into four A, B, C & D groups does not appear to be scientific and rational as there are wide ranging disparities regarding literacy and employment levels within each group.
- (d) The processing of the Raju Commission has been done by the State Government in undue haste.
- (e) The State Government has not furnished any data regarding socio-economic conditions of the different Scheduled Caste communities.

- (f) The State Government does not maintain Scheduled Caste community wise records either for services or development schemes. Data, which has been sent to the Commission for a large number of employees and students, has been collected for this specific purpose.
- (g) The figures and data sent by the State Government regarding employment and admission in educational institutions do not reveal any glaring disparities especially between Mala and Madiga communities. There is nothing to suggest that some communities have been deprived of facilities.
- (h) There appears to be huge backlog of vacancies for Scheduled Castes in the State Government. The vacancies, if filled-up, would perhaps reveal a different trend.
- (i) The State Government has also not provided for reservations in promotions in all the Departments.
- (j) The population and literacy figures based on 1981 census appear to be doubtful especially in the case of Relli as their literacy rate is supposed to be 23.20%, which is higher than even that of Madiga and Mala communities.
- (k) Some out of 59 communities have hardly got any benefits of education policies/facilities and reservation in services. Categorization into four groups does not address and answer these questions.
- (l) There is need to further improve the educational facilities and take up schemes for socio-economic development for Scheduled Castes more vigorously.
- (ii) The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes made the following recommendations:-

(a) The National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes feels that after 50 years of independence and working of the reservation policy, there seem to have crept in some disparities and varying level of developments among the different Scheduled Caste communities that have been notified w.r.t each State/UT. The difference exists not only between different communities, but within the same community there are families who are much ahead of others. Thus there is a need to have a relook at the working of the reservation policy and the development efforts that have been made for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes during the last 50 years. Measures taken to address these problems systematically and seriously would act as the proverbial "Stitch in time, saves nine". Left unattended, far from the unity of Scheduled Castes being maintained, a deeper malaise of conflicts and violence may set in alienating a large number of persons and communities who perceive themselves as deprived and aggrieved.

(b) To this end, there is a need for a countrywide systematic survey to assess the effects of implementation of the reservation policy in employment and education and the impact of development programmes such as poverty alleviation and schemes taken up through TSP and SCP. It is important to see as to what are the factors that have led to the development of some communities/families in education and socio-economic sectors, while others have not been able to take the benefits of these programmes. It has also to be enquired into as to why the funds for the development schemes under TSP and SCP are not being utilized properly. It is on the basis of such a detailed socio-economic survey and the status report that a new formula has to be evolved to reduce the disparities between the communities and within the families amongst the same communities.

(c) The Commission, therefore, recommends that the Government of India being the custodian of the interest of the Scheduled Castes, the down-trodden and the under-privileged, should itself set about the task of taking comprehensive stock of the situation, in consultation with the State Government, State Commissions for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and come out with an appropriate national

under reservation in each State become the collective right of the respective list of Scheduled Castes in a particular State.

- (11). The basic criterion of reservation for the Schedule Castes is 'Untouchability' which gets replaced by 'Caste' after classification.

While the basic reason for reservation to Scheduled Castes is their backwardness in all fields, the basic ground for listing of Scheduled Castes under the respective lists was their disabilities and the deprivation they are suffering from the scourge of untouchability and the inhuman discrimination due to the menial and the pathetic occupations they are coerced to live with. But the sub categorisation brings about a kind of caste-based occupation as the basis of this executive measure. However, the emerging unified untouchable consciousness among these Scheduled Castes has now been brought back to their caste consciousness with this measure of sub categorisation.

- (12). The intention of reservation is national integration.

The proposal of sub categorisation is against the ethos of national movement. The national movement does not require national integration by exclusion through further divisions and classifications, which have the potential of communal and social hatred. That is the reason for which Gandhiji had gone on fast against the Communal Award of Ramsay Mechdonald in 1932, which incorporated the separate electorate to the depressed classes.

- (13). Reservation is not the ultimate instrument to ensure social justice at individual/caste level.

(a) Micro level social justice i.e., at individual level and at each caste/tribe level is not possible through the instrument of reservation. Because, reservation does not address the issue of universal primary education and employment opportunities in sectors other than public services. The ultimate social justice is possible through suitable measures to achieve hundred percent literacy and education so as to enable the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes to acquire necessary capabilities.

(b) Due to the linguistic diversity and the extreme division of society with mindless proliferation of castes, sub-castes and groups and sub-groups, it is impossible to implement caste-based reservation in public services. Hence an inclusive broad classification instead of micro caste/tribe/sect based classification, is to be adopted for the purpose of application of reservation.

(14). The Constitution allows only inclusion or exclusion of a caste/tribe, but no other kinds of tinkering with the Presidential lists.

No State has any jurisdiction for legislation over the constitutional provision of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Even the Parliament is empowered, only for either inclusion into or exclusion from the Presidential lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in terms of Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution.

(15). Non availability of actual preliminary data, which could have served the purpose of a policy like classification.

(a) In a situation wherein all the vacancies reserved for these categories are filled up, as per the roster system, and candidates belonging to only one caste/tribe had cornered all or a highly disproportionate majority of them, forcing others into the trap of inadequate representation, then there is a reason for any thinking on the lines of A, B, C and D within each category of Scheduled Castes for the purpose of employment. Still, it shall not be a holistic parameter of their economic and political advancement. A mere better representation in Government jobs by one or two castes from among Scheduled Castes does not ensure a respectable social status to that entire caste or the whole of these communities.

(b) The great void at the top levels of administration is due to non-adherence to roster system of employment and promotion. This needs to be shown transparently.

- (16). No single caste from within the list of Scheduled Castes is responsible for the backwardness of other castes of the same schedule.

There is no ground to say that any particular caste is taking undue advantage of facilities at the cost of others within the list of Scheduled Castes. The scheme of empowerment should not be reduced to a scheme of bartering some jobs.

- (17). Social empowerment policy should be progressive.

Any change in the policy of reservation should be with a view to prospective opportunities but not otherwise.

- (18). There is a need to appreciate the dynamic nature of social change.

Today, out of the 1086 Scheduled Castes, if a few more individuals from a particular caste have entered into Government service than other castes, it is due to their numerical strength and their realization of the social value of self-respect. For example, the Chamar, the Jatav and the Ravidasi of North India and Punjab, the Mahar of Maharashtra, Madiga of Karnataka, Namasudra of West Bengal, the Mala and Madiga of Andhra Pradesh are the heard names among Scheduled Castes who have a better intra-category representation within the Scheduled Castes, in Government employment. This is due to a great deal of relentless social activism by umpteen unsung local heroes of these castes in awakening them on the lines of Dr. Ambedkar's thought which is one of the reasons for a comparatively visible change.

- (19). The Constitution did not change the role of caste.

The Constitutional provision did not change the basic role of caste as upholder of inequalities, which was developed as a belief and an ideology and practiced for nearly more than 3000 years. Unfortunately, the Constitution could not abolish caste. It is therefore, the caste based privileges and hereditary properties are getting exchanged only within the caste due to the intuition of endogamous marriages and individual right to property with or without the custom of dowry.

(20). The logic employed in the classification policy is discriminating and sectarian.

(a) The classification proposal followed the logic that there are 15% posts/ seats for all the 59 Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. But due to the educational advancement of a particular caste called Mala among the 59 Scheduled Castes, that particular caste is enjoying the lion's share within the 15% posts/seats. Hence that caste has to be restricted to the extent of the proportion of its population within the Scheduled Castes, so that other castes within the Scheduled Castes, which are less represented in Government jobs and the educational institutions get real social justice. The social justice commitment here itself is a great bluff. The basic question to be answered here is whether the Mala caste is the source of social injustice in the State. Social justice in Andhra Pradesh is suffering at the hands of the privileged and the dominant castes. It is clear that the intention is not social justice but creation of social conflict among the vulnerable sections.

(b) The privileged Varnas and dominant castes whose share goes phenomenally beyond their proportion in the population in the organized employment sector, the press and the three wings of Government should be restricted only to the extent of their population. Irrespective of relative merits, it should start from the top and from the most prevalent caste in the fields of education and employment in both public and private sectors.

(c) Restrict the other prominent castes in the public employment, proportionate to their population. If A, B, C and D groups are possible for 59 Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh such A, B, C and D are also possible for other left over castes (other than Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes).

(21). Sub categorisation would create administrative problems

The sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes would create problems for the administration. At present rosters are maintained to ensure the intake of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Even in their present form, their maintenance is very complicated task. Sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes would further complicate their maintenance.

(22). Other points raised against sub categorisation

- (a). The constitutional 'objective' of reservation is 'community' empowerment, but not caste / individual empowerment.
- (b). The 'purpose' of reservation is 'recognition of merit' but not distribution of posts / seats in proportion to the strength of any caste/ community.
- (c). It is not agreeable that for the purpose of identifying backwardness, a further enquiry can be made by appointing a Commission as to who amongst the members of Scheduled Castes is more backward. Thus the Government Resolution dated 15-11-2006 constituting the National Commission to examine the issue of Sub-Categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh is illegal.
- (d). The Commission is not set up either under the provisions of the Constitution or any statute or under the Commission of Enquiry Act 1952. Therefore, it is illegal and without jurisdiction.
- (e). It is against legal ethics, a retired Judge of a High Court examines the decision of the Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court.
- (f). The appointment of the present Commission is violative of Article 338 of the Constitution. Under Article 338 of the Constitution, it is the duty of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes to investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes under the Constitution. When a Constitutional body already exists, it is not open for any other Commission to investigate into the said issues. Under clause (9) of Article 338, it is mandatory for the Central Government, States and UTs to consult the said Commission on all policy matters affecting the Scheduled Castes. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes has already rejected the proposal of sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

- (g). The sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes is resorted to under the pretext of doing justice to all the sub castes in the Presidential List. This cannot be achieved unless each caste is apportioned a percentage of reservation proportionate to its population. Dividing the Scheduled Castes in sub groups does not render the required justice equitably to all castes in the groups. Even in a single caste justice cannot be done to each family.
- (h). Providing accommodation to the Commission in Andhra Pradesh Bhawan, New Delhi and deputation of services of the Joint Secretary and other staff of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment to work with this Commission are all indication of over zealousness of authorities in the matter.

Representations from Madiga community.

- (1). Scope of the Commission for only Andhra Pradesh is appropriate.

The demand of the Madiga and other castes is that the employment and educational opportunities of the State Government may be equally divided in proportion to the population. There is no demand for distribution of posts and education benefits as are available in Central Government. Therefore, there is no need to cover other States by the Commission, as the issue is Andhra Pradesh specific.

- (2). Criteria used by the then Census Commissioner in 1931 for Depressed Classes may be taken to logical conclusion.

The criteria, grounds and the logic used by Shri J. J. Hutton, the then Census Commissioner of India for designation and classification of Depressed Classes (Scheduled Castes) in 1931 should be taken to the logical end by sub-classifying the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. For first time classification of Scheduled Castes was done by Shri J. J. Hutton. Later on, this became the basis for preparation of list of Scheduled Castes in the Government of India Act, 1935. After Independence, the President of India adopted the same list and promulgated in the name of Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950.

Primarily, Shri Hutton based following tests, criteria and grounds related to caste system for designation of Scheduled Castes: -

- (a). whether the caste (or) class in question can be served by Brahmins or not; (b). whether the caste (or) class in question can be served by Barber, Water Carrier, Tailor, etc., who serve the Caste Hindus; (c). whether the caste in question pollutes a high-caste Hindu by contact (or) proximity; (d). whether the caste (or) class in question is one from whose hands a Caste Hindu can take water; (e). whether the caste (or) class in question is debarred from using public conveniences, such as roads, ferries, wells (or) schools; (f). whether the caste (or) class in question is debarred from the use of Hindu temples; (g). whether in ordinary social intercourse, a well-educated member of the caste (or) class in question will treat as equal by the high-caste men of same educational qualifications; (h). whether the caste (or) class in question is merely depressed on account of its own ignorance, illiteracy (or) poverty and but for that, it would be subject to no social disability; (i). whether it is depressed on account of the occupation followed, and whether but for that occupation it would be subject to no social disability.

The Census Commissioner of India in 1931 had taken social, religious and occupational disabilities suffered by untouchables for designation of Depressed Classes (Scheduled Castes). These restrictions are known as commensal practices adhered to by twice born castes, rooted in notions of purity and pollution. The same commensal restrictions are practiced by Mala against Madiya in Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, J. J. Hutton's logic of commensal restrictions should be taken to logical end for sub-classification of Scheduled Castes.

59 Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, notified by the President of India, are not equally accessible to the benefits of reservation due to their unequal placement within Scheduled Castes hierarchy in particular and Verma hierarchy in general.

(3). The rationale for sub categorisation.

The logic in sub categorization of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh is based on the following principles.

(a). **The principle of touchable groups:** In essence, the caste system divided society into touchable and untouchable groups. The Panchamas have been untouchables to all four Varnas. On the basis of same traditional caste values, the Mala and Madiga are also divided into two different touchable and untouchable groups. In other words, Brahmanic values of purity and pollution percolated down to Scheduled Castes and divided them into touchable and untouchable groups.

(b). **The principle of satellite living:** Traditional caste values divided Scheduled Castes into Mala and Madiga and they are living separately in Malapally (village) and Madiga gudem (collective residence) respectively.

(c). **Principle of parallels:** The caste system placed different castes at different places living in various parts of the country. Castes with equal status are brought under one group though they migrated from different States. The Mang in Maharashtra and the Madiga in Andhra Pradesh have equal status in Panchama hierarchy by virtue of their traditional occupation. Such parallel castes are grouped together for sub-classification of Scheduled Castes.

(d). **Principle of common name:** Common name is the feature of a tribe of people. They have common history, common God etc. All those castes with prefix or suffixes like Mala Sale, Dakkal and Madiga are recognized as groups and reservation benefits are distributed between and among these groups.

(e). **Principle of parity in traditional occupations:** The traditional occupation of sub-castes has been the basis for caste hierarchy. Varna dharma allotted a particular traditional occupation, to each caste in society. The ritualistic pandits allotted

particular grades to these occupations, and exploited them in the terms of the notions of purity and pollution. On the basis of traditional occupations, the Scheduled Castes are categorized into groups for distribution of reservation benefits.

- (f). **Principle of protection of group interest:** The quantum of reservation has been decided in proportion to the population of Scheduled Castes against the monopoly of one or two castes. Similarly, no single sub-caste should be allowed to corner reservation benefits disproportionate to their population.

(4). **Educationally Madiga is lagging behind the Mala.**

- (a) Educationally, Madiga caste is far lagging behind Mala caste as is evident from the admission into educational institutions from Secondary level upto University level, besides in professional courses like Engineering, Medicine, Pharmacy, Management etc. Sample statistics about admission into Engineering, Medicine are herewith furnished for the period when categorisation was implemented and also when it was not implemented, in the following tables:

Admission of Scheduled Caste students in educational institutions of Andhra Pradesh in Academic year 1996-97 - Before the period of sub categorisation.					
Courses (in all Educational Institutions)	Group				Total
	Mala (C)	Madiga (B)	Adi Andhra (D)	Relli (A)	
B.Tech	64%	26%	10%	--	100%
B.E	73%	23%	4%	--	100%
M.B.B.S	77%	20%	3%	--	100%
Law	56%	37%	7%	--	100%
B.Ed	71%	28%	1%	--	100%
Sciences (M.Tech, M.Sc)	65%	33%	2%	--	100%
Arts (M.Com, M.A)	71%	28%	1%	--	100%
Degree Courses (B.Tech, B.Sc, B.Com, B.A)	68%	29%	2%	1%	100%
Andhra Pradesh Welfare Residential Schools (Class 5 to Intermediate)	62%	35%	2%	1%	100%
I.A.S Coaching Admission	89%	10%	1%	--	100%

Admission of Scheduled Caste students in educational institutions of Andhra Pradesh in Academic year 1999-2000 during the period of sub categorisation.					
Courses (in all Educational Institutions)	Group				Total
	Mala (C)	Madiga (B)	Adi Andhra (D)	Relli (A)	
B.Tech	44%	46%	7%	3%	100%
B.E	46%	42%	6%	6%	100%
M.B.B.S	48%	44%	6%	2%	100%
Law	46%	41%	7%	6%	100%
B.Ed	46%	40%	7%	7%	100%
Sciences (M.Tech, M.Sc)	40%	50%	6%	4%	100%
Arts (M.Com, M.A)	40%	46%	7%	7%	100%
Degree Courses (B.Tech, B.Sc, B.Com, B.A)	41%	47%	7%	5%	100%
Andhra Pradesh Welfare Residential Schools (Class 5 to Intermediate)	45%	41%	8%	6%	100%
I.A.S Coaching Admission	50%	48%	2%	--	100%

(b) As a result of categorisation of Scheduled Castes into A, B, C and D groups during the years 2001-02 to 2004-05, several Madiga and allied castes could secure admission into the professional courses as the Scheduled Castes quota of 15% reservation was divided into 4 parts in the ratio of 1:7:6:1 respectively based on backwardness in education and economic field on one side and population on the other side. Thus each group had secured seats during the implementation of categorisation.

(c) However, as a result of the Supreme Court judgment, the quota of reservation to Madiga and allied castes i.e. group A, B and C dropped down in professional courses drastically.

(d) In enrolment in Secondary, Intermediate, Graduate and Post Graduate courses, Madiga and allied castes secured hardly 35% of the total admissions; whereas Mala secured 65% of admission under the Scheduled Caste quota. Thus it is grossly disproportionate to their population. In the Districts like East Godavari, West Godavari, the entire Mala population is highly educated and consists of Doctors, Engineers, Scientists and members of All India Services.

(5). Mala caste cornered most of the posts and appointments.

As regards employment, most of the positions of Doctors, Engineers including Software Professionals are monopolised by the Mala caste, leaving Class IV and III posts like Drivers, Attenders, Clerks to the Madiga and allied castes. Even in All India Services and Group-I and Group-II services of State Government, 70% of the posts are held by Mala leaving the rest to others. In these circumstances, Madiga and other castes cannot hope for equality with them. Information in the relevant tables (sample cases) reflects the inequalities in services as under:

Scheduled Caste employees of Andhra Pradesh: 1991					
Department	Groups				Total
	Mala (C)	Madiga (B)	Adi Andhra (D)	Relli (A)	
Total Scheduled Caste employees	62,055	20,384	6,149	1,333	89,921
Central Government & PSUs	5,896	3,756	1,112	83	10,847
State PSUs	735	369	33	3	1,140
Local Bodies	1,675	1,431	383	348	3,837
Andhra Pradesh Social Welfare Residential Educational Institutions	303	202	3	3	511
State Government (15) District Offices with sweepers and Public Health workers	10,703	7,282	2,402	577	20,964
State Government (15) District - Offices without sweepers and Public Health workers	10,402	6,025	1,822	--	18,249
Secretariat (19 Departments)	169	70	20	--	259
Head of the Departments (66 Departments)	2,101	1,216	149	43	3,509
Universities	534	423	110	150	1,217
Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam	951	357	115	126	1,549
IAS Officers in the State	32	10	--	--	42
IAS Officers in Central and other States	85	15	--	--	100

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IAS Officers in the State	32	10	--	--	42
IAS Officers in Central and other States	85	15	--	--	100

IPS Officers in the State	10	3	--	--	13
IPS Officers in Central and other States	25	4	--	--	29
Deputy Collectors	50	14	--	--	54
Magistrates	25	4	--	--	29
Government Pleaders	15	3	--	--	18
Health Department Officers	17	5	--	--	22
Social Welfare Department Officers	4	1	--	--	5
Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation Officers	20	4	--	--	24

(6). Politically Mala caste is much advanced compared to Madiga caste.

Politically, Madiga caste is nowhere in the country. Historically, all political parties promoted the leadership of Mala caste at the expenses of Madiga caste. Even by 1960, late Shri Damodaram Sanjeevaiah Garu, a Mala by caste, became the Chief Minister of the Andhra Pradesh. He even rose to the position of President of All India Congress Committee. Unfortunately, no person from Madiga caste from the State was allowed to grow politically. Consequently, Madiga caste is being continuously treated as subordinate to Mala caste. Following table shows representation of Mala and Madiga castes in the State Assembly and Parliament and similar other political posts as on date.

S.No	Positions	Madiga	Mala
	Positions of Public Importance		
1	Chief Minister	--	1
2	Speaker of Lok Sabha	--	1
3	Speaker of Andhra Pradesh Assembly	--	1
4	Central Cabinet	--	1
5	Members of Parliament	--	1
6	State Cabinet	3	5
7	MLCs	3	4
8	MLAs	2	3
9	Mayors	17	22
10	Municipal Chairman (reserved 10)	--	2
11	Government Representative in Delhi (Cabinet Rank)	--	10
12	National SC/ST Commission Members	--	1
13	State SC/ST Commission (Chairperson)	--	2
	Judiciary	--	2

1	Judges of Supreme Court of India	--	1
2	Judges of High Court	--	4
3	District Munsif and Magistrates	5	30
4	Government Pleaders	6	35
Administration			
1	Chief Secretary to Government	--	1
2	Chief State Election Commissioner	--	1
3	Principal Secretary to Government	--	7
4	Principal Secretary to CM Peshi	--	1
5	Collectors	--	3
6	IAS/IPS Officers till date	22	120
7	Deputy Collectors	14	50
8	Group-I appointment in 2005 in AP	30	130
9	Group-II appointment in 2006 in AP		
10	Admissions in Andhra Pradesh Study Circle (2004)	14	36

(7). Economic deprivation among Madiga caste is much more than the Mala caste.

Economically, Madiga caste is very poor and oppressed. They do not possess any agricultural land and they do not have industries. Mala caste has availed most of the loans and subsidies from the Government and other financial institutions. The loans and subsidies granted by Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Finance Corporation disclose the glaring disparities between Mala and other castes.

(8). Recommendation of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

In 1988, The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes recommended "Special Protective Discrimination and to have a fresh look and critical examination of SCHEDULING" for fair and equal distribution of reservation benefits among Scheduled Castes. The views and recommendations are as follows:-

- (i) A few communities are accounting for bulk of All India Services year after year, while bulk of them cannot claim even a handful, some of them have yet to score.

(ii) First generation educated youth will find it difficult to make a mark in the competition for reservation in posts. It is time that this issue is considered in all its aspects and less advanced among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are enabled to enter the Public Sector through a policy of Special Discrimination in their favour.

(iii) There is a feeling of discontent, albeit, subdued amongst these members of the communities who are unable to compete with comparatively advanced groups. In a situation of unequal competition, the question scheduling, therefore, need to be critically examined.

(9). Public opinion.

The public opinion is that there is backwardness among Madiga and allied castes. All political parties and general public are in favour of categorisation. The Andhra Pradesh Assembly unanimously passed resolutions to this effect more than once.

(10). Categorisation is not against unity.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Backward Classes are classified in to A, B, C, and D groups and there is neither disunity nor disharmony among the Backward Classes. Similarly, there was no disharmony or differences between Mala and Madiga castes when the categorisation was implemented for 4 years from 2001 to 2004. Press and Media had also extended full support to the cause.

(11). The Madiga Movement is a long struggle for existence and survival.

In the history of Scheduled Castes for social justice in India, the Madiga Movement has a long legacy. This movement became dynamic, when Manda Krishna Madiga started Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (Organisation to fight for Madiga Reservation), an organisation to fight for reservation for Madiga. As early as in 1972, it was four students of Andhra Pradesh University who raised their voice against the injustice done to them due to combined reservation policy. The students from Madiga caste, while seeking appointments, brought to the notice of the Government the need for sub categorisation of

Scheduled Caste reservation. In the same year, Shri M. Omkar, M.L.A in the State Assembly, raised the need to sub categorisation of reservation for Scheduled Caste. Smt. T.N. Sada Lakshmi and Ex. Minister of the Congress Party brought to the notice of the then Chief Minister Shri Jalagam Vengala Rao, who had promised to look into this matter.

- (12). Anthropological researches show that Madiga is a distinct community and suffered in the past.

It has been argued that Mala and Madiga castes are one and the sub categorisation of 15% Scheduled Caste reservation leads to break up in their unity. But in reality there was nothing that unites the Mala and Madiga castes, according to researches done by Anthropologists. The details are given hereunder:

- (a) **Mala and Madiga castes have different origins:**

On the nature of Mala and Madiga castes, Anthropologist Dr. V. Ramachandra Rao analysed in the following way:

"The Mahars in neighbouring Maharashtra akin to the Malas. Similar communities are found, the Mala-pahadiyas in Bengal and a similar caste in Tamilnadu. There may be a link to the Mallahs of UP, who are ferrymen (river crossing boats), but I'm not sure. Overall, the Malas are still very poor labourers, but many have taken to education and have joined the middle class. The number of educated professional people with a Mala background, like doctors, engineers is rising steadily. There are many in government service. Long time Mala politicians are quite rich, of course. There are very few Mala industrialists."

About the Madigas, he wrote:

"One of the largest Scheduled grouping in India, the Madigas has a very ancient presence. They are today mainly poor leather workers and agricultural labourers, although there are references in ancient literature and stories, which allude to their important role. The Madiga community is known as the Mang in Maharashtra, Chakkaliya in Tamil Nadu and possibly the Matang in North India."

George W. Briggs writes:

"The great leather-working caste of the Telugu country is the Madiga. He lives in the outskirts of the village. He is described as coarse and filthy, as a cater of unclean food, and as a user of obscene language. He works in leather, and serves as a menial and as a scavenger. Many Madigas are practically serfs. Most of them are field labourers. They beat drums at festivals. In some parts of the country they still have their perquisites, these are disappearing under competition. They perform the revolting part of bloody scarifies, and aid in removing the demons of disease. Their girls are dedicated to temple service (behaves). The caste is divided into a number of endogamous divisions with exogamous steps, some of which seem to be totemistic. Widows are re-married. Divorce is easily secured. They have a Panchayat or council. They both bury and burn their dead. In 1902 ten percent of the Madigas were returned as Christians."

(b) 100 years back: Malas were employees and Madigas Coolies.

Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari wrote:

"As bearing on the social status of the Malas and Madigas, which is a subject of dispute between the two classes, it may be noted that all the billets in cotton factories which require any skill, such as engine drivers, valve-men, moulders, turners, etc., are held by Malas. The Madigas are generally only three-anna wage men, and do such work as turning a winch, moving bales, and other trivial jobs. At a factory, whereat I stayed, at Adoni, there were three wells, viz: for Malas, Madigas and for the rest of the workers, except Brahmans. And the well water for the Malas was better than that for the Madigas."

(13). Lokur Committee Report contained recommendations for deletion of Mala from Scheduled Caste list.

The Government of India had appointed a Committee for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the year 1965, headed by Sri. B.N. Lokur, then Law Secretary to

Government of India, popularly known as "Lokur Committee" for studying the implementation of reservation in all the States. It was recommended that the "MALAS" had enjoyed total reservation (Lion's share) in the name of combined reservation of 15% though the said sub-caste is very minor in population, due to which the "MALAS" should be deleted from the list of the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh; but the said community has not been deleted from the Scheduled Caste list till today due to which they are in top position in employment, education, financially and politically comparable with the forward communities in the State.

(14). Historically only Madiga and allied castes suffered from untouchability:

The 'Madigas' popularly known as Jambavanthas, Arundhathiyas, in 'Ramayan', 'Mahabharth', 'Vedas' and 'Manucharitra' and their traditional profession are leather tanning and production of leather goods and footware. The 'Mala' caste had no traditional profession and the word 'Mala' cannot be seen in 'Puranas' and 'Vedas' even, in 'Manucharitra' as Manu Maharshi has divided the population of India into castes as per their traditional profession i.e. Madiga, Kamari, Dhobi, Kummari Padamasali, Vadrangi, Vaisya Mangali (Barber) etc; but the word 'Mala' cannot be seen in that categorization. They are agricultural labourers and there are poor people in other castes and all are agricultural labourer in the State. The 'Madigas' are treated as untouchables, due to their traditional profession and they were kept out side the villages due to which they could not come up, in education, employment, financially, socially and politically, which is a historical fact. In Independent India, the Government has provided the reservation on the basis of untouchability as per their traditional professions, to provide social justice on par with the other communities. Mala caste cannot become untouchable without traditional profession as the reservation is particularly provided on the basis of untouchability. As there is no traditional profession for Mala and allied castes, they are not at all eligible for reservation, on any ground.

Hence, the 'Mala' caste should be deleted from the list of Scheduled Castes as per the report of the "Lokur Committee (1965) or at least categorised the Scheduled Castes into A, B, C and D groups as per the Report of Hon'ble Justice P. Ramachandra Raju

Commission for providing social justice to the poorest of the poor 'Madiga' caste and its allied castes as early as possible to enable the Government for implementing the policy of categorisation.

(15). Scheduled Castes are not homogeneous group.

(a) Dr. Ambedkar said that there are no two castes, which are equal. He said that caste system is like the steps of a ladder. There is always one above the other. There is an ascending order of reverence and descending order of hatred and contempt. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to make it a homogeneous group. Presidential List itself recognized 59 castes. Scheduled Castes is a list of castes having 59 castes. When it recognized 59 castes, it cannot be homogenous. It is nothing but heterogeneous. Madiga and Mala castes live separately. Madiga colony is called Gudem, Mala colony is called Palle. Madiga caste has separate duties like disposal of dead cows, flaying the skins of dead cows, tanning the skins of the dead cow, making leather out of the skins and hides, sewing the chappals, sandals and other leather articles, drum beating at fairs and festivals.

(b) Mala had never been engaged in these kinds of occupations. Marriages of Madiga caste take place among Madiga caste only; Madiga does not invite Mala caste for their functions and vice versa. With so many differences, it cannot be said that Mala, Madiga and other castes are one homogenous group. On the contrary, they are essentially heterogeneous in nature.

(16). Only Mala caste is opposing the sub categorisation for their own interest and not for the welfare of Scheduled Castes.

(a) There is no loss for Mala caste if there is categorization of Scheduled Castes Reservation in Andhra Pradesh.

(b) Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes (Rationalisation of Reservations) Act 2000 (Act 20 of 2000) was unanimously resolved by the Andhra Pradesh Assembly three times. It means that Members of Andhra Pradesh Assembly from all parties and all castes have supported it.

- (17). Statistical data prove that Mala caste dominates in Professional Educational Institutions and political sphere.

- (a) The following table shows the representation of Mala and other castes in Professional Colleges like Engineering College and Medical College in Visakhapatnam.

Representation of Mala, Madiga and Relli castes among the Professors, Associate Professors and Assistant Professors in Andhra Medical College Visakhapatnam

<u>Name of the Faculty</u>	<u>Total Scheduled Castes</u>	<u>Mala</u>	<u>Madiga</u>	<u>Relli</u>
<u>Caste wise Percentage of population</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>45.8%</u>	<u>53.6%</u>	<u>0.6%</u>

<u>Sl. No.</u>	<u>Name of the Faculty</u>	<u>Total Scheduled Castes</u>	<u>Mala</u>	<u>Madiga</u>	<u>Rellis</u>
1	Dept of Medicine	7	7	Nil	Nil
2	Dept of Surgery	6	5	Nil	1
3	Dept of Gynaecology	4	4	Nil	Nil
4	Dept of Paediatrics	2	2	Nil	Nil
5	Dept of ENT	3	3	Nil	Nil
6	Dept of Orthopaedics	5	5	Nil	Nil
7	Dept of Radiology	2	2	Nil	Nil
8	Dept of Venereology	1	1	Nil	Nil
9	Dept of Neurosurgery	4	4	Nil	Nil
10	Dept of CT Surgery	1	1	Nil	Nil
11	Dept of Urology	1	1	Nil	Nil
12	Dept of Ophthalmology	4	3	1	Nil
13	Dept of Psychiatry	2	1	1	Nil
14	Dept of T.B. & Chest	2	2	Nil	Nil
15	Dept of Anaesthesiology	4	3	1	Nil
16	Dept of Physiology	6	5	1	Nil
17	Dept of Bio chemistry	1	1	Nil	Nil
18	Dept of Pharmacology	5	5	Nil	Nil
19	Dept of Pathology	3	2	1	Nil
20	Dept of Microbiology	1	1	Nil	Nil
21	Dept of Forensic Medicine	1	1	Nil	Nil
22	Dept of SPM	3	3	Nil	Nil
23	Dept of Anatomy	1	1	Nil	Nil
		75	69	5	1

More than 90% posts are occupied by persons belonging to Mala caste in Andhra Medical College.

(b) The details of political representations are as under:-

Political representation of Madiga, Mala, and Relli castes in Municipal elections conducted in 2005

Sl. No	District.	Name of the Corporations	Category	Name of the political party	Name of the Mayor/ Municipal Chairman/ Chairperson	Caste
1	West Godavari	Eluru	SC General	Congress	Kare Baburao	Mala
2	Vizianagaram	Saluru	SC Woman	Congress	M. Gangamma	Mala
3	East Godavari	Ramachandrapuram	SC Women	Congress	G. Jeevan Jyothi	Mala
4	West Godavari	Palakolli	SC Women	Congress	P. Sujatha	Mala
5	Guntur	Bapatla	SC General	Congress	S. Maria Dasu	Mala
6	Guntur	Ponnuru	SC General	Congress	Dr. R. Rani	Mala
7	Guntur	Repalli	SC General	Congress	M. Veerajovamma	Mala
8	Chittoor	Chittoor	SC General	Congress	Sarala Mary	Mala
9	Khammam	Ellendu	SC General	Congress	Ankaivva	Mala
10	Nalgonda	Bhuvangiri	SC General	Congress	Mula Babu Rao	Mala
11	Karim Nagar	Rama Gondam	SC General	Congress	Doni Konda Vanitha	Mala
12	Nellore	Venkatagiri	SC General	Congress	Allam Chandra Mohan Rao	Mala
13	Chittoor	Puttur	SC General	Congress	Ankaiah	MALA

(18). Benefits with and without sub classification-a comparative analysis.

(a) Sub classification creates equality and absence of sub classification creates inequality in distribution of reservation benefits. The following table is an illustration to establish the fact that sub-categorization created equality and absence of categorization created inequality among Scheduled Castes during the academic year 2003-04 and 2004-05.

The inequality among different castes with and without classification

Name of the Department/ University	Castes	Relli (A)	Madiga (B)'	Mala (C)	Adi-Andhra (D)	Total
Medicine	Without classification	0	82 (16.87%)	345 (70.98%)	59 (12.14%)	486 (100%)
All Universities	With classification	32 (6.58)	227 (46.70)	195 (40.12%)	32 (6.58)	
Engineering Two Universities	Without Classification	0	70 (28.11)	163 (65.46%)	16 (6.43)	249 (100%)
	With Classification	16 (6.43)	117 (46.98)	100 (40.16)	16 (6.43)	
M.Sc Science Courses three Universities	Without Classification	0 (0)	183 (36.30)	314 (62.30)	7 (1.40)	504 (100%)
	With Classification	33 (6.54)	236 (46.82)	202 (40.04)	33 (6.54)	

(b) It is evident from the above Table that Mala and Adi-Andhra castes established their monopoly cornering nearly 80 percent of reservation benefits without classification; while the Madiga and Relli castes were deprived of their due share. It is also evident from the Table that all the four groups gained reservation benefits equally and in proportion to their population with sub-classification of Scheduled Castes.

(19). Hierarchy among Scheduled Castes has resulted in deprivation of lower castes.

*Scheduled Castes have inherited all the properties of caste system and successfully created hierarchy among them. This hierarchy is similar to the Chaturvarna hierarchy. This hierarchy is operative as a mechanism to divide them and has deprived the lower caste among Scheduled Castes the benefits of the reservation. The basis for this suggestion is as follows:

(i) Hierarchy

The Mala and the Madiga, the two major castes having satellite castes of their own have evolved themselves into two hierarchies, Mala and Madiga being at the top of the ladders in the respective caste hierarchy based on the notion of superiority and inferiority. The structure of Scheduled Castes hierarchy is as follows:-

(A) Mala Hierarchy

1. Mitha Ayyalwar
2. Mala
3. Mala Jangam/Dasari/Pambala
4. Mala Masti
5. Gurram Mala

(B) Madiga Hierarchy

1. Sangari Madiga
2. Madiga
3. Bindla/Erpula/Sindu
4. Masti
5. Dakkal

The Mitha Ayyalwar is at the top of Scheduled Caste hierarchy; while Dakkal at the bottom. The superiority in Scheduled Caste hierarchy flows from upward to downwards while inferiority from downward to upwards. In the Mala hierarchy Mitha Ayyalwar is considered to be superior, standing at the top of the ladder. Mala Jangam, Mala and Mala Dasari come from the priestly class, and function as spiritual advisors to Mala satellite castes. They are also called Mala Gurus. They consider Mala and Madiga castes inferior to them. In the Mala satellite castes, Mala Jangam/Dasari (in some cases) are at the top of Mala hierarchy. Next to them are Mala. Pambala, Masti and Gurram Mala in the descending order in the hierarchy. Syed Sirjul recorded that, "Gurram Malas are regarded as the lowest of all the Mala sub-castes".

(ii) Endogamy

The performance of marriage within a social group is known as 'Endogamy'. It is one of the basic features of caste system. Chaturvarna priestly classes strictly adhered to this practice and have become a model for other castes including the Scheduled Castes. It laid foundation for hierarchical caste system.

Every caste is an endogamous group among Scheduled Caste satellite castes. Every Mala sub-caste is an endogamous group. For instance, Mala Jangams/Dasari "takes

girls from their own sub-caste. They also take girls in marriages from other Mala castes, but do not give their own daughters in return.

Similarly, every sub-caste in Madiga satellite communities is an endogamous group.

(iii) Traditional occupations of Scheduled Castes.

The traditional occupations of the castes have been the basis for caste hierarchy. Every caste and sub-caste professed an occupation of its own. Most of the traditional occupations are hereditary as they are inherited by individual social groups by the incident of birth in a particular caste. The Hindu Dharma Shastras have described in detail the duties and functions of different Varnas in four fold division of castes. These functions have become traditional occupations of each caste in course of time. The ritualistic pundits have given gradations to these occupations depending upon nature of occupations and explained them in the notion of purity and pollution or clean or unclean occupations.

(iv) Traditional occupations of Mala Satellite Castes

The Mala satellite castes are engaged relatively in clean occupations, which finds higher place in gradation of occupations compared to Madiga satellite castes. Mala Jangam, Mala Dasari and Mitha Ayyalwar are the priestly class of Mala caste. The Mala Jangam and Mala Dasari officiate over the festivals of Saivaite section of Mala and Mitha Ayyalwar officiates ceremonies of Vaishnavite section of Mala. The traditional occupation of the priestly class of Mala caste is religious mendicancy and foretelling. Mala Jangam, go for begging, besides engaging themselves as agriculture labourers during agriculture seasons. Their traditional occupation is graded higher in traditional society.

Thurston has said that "the chief occupation of Malas is weaving and working as farm labourers and few cultivate their own lands, they have enough lands. The Malas of western part of Telugu country are superior to other Dalit castes, and they have their lands, in some cases are well to-do-cultivators. Traditionally they are very close to village activities. They also render village services. The village services consist of sweeping,

scavenging, carrying of burdens and grave digging, the last having been their pre-requisite for long ages. It is reported that the Mala Masti people are acrobats and earn their livelihood by performing physical feats, mostly in the Mala localities. The Gurram Malas, who are considered lowest of Malas" earn their living by begging from Mala caste.

(v) Traditional occupation of Madiga Satellite Castes.

Madiga satellite castes were engaged in more unclean occupations compared to that of Mala traditional occupations. They have been placed at lower level in the graded occupational structure. Sangari, the spiritual advisor to Madiga caste performs religious functions. "Their traditional occupation is preaching to Madigas". Bindla caste is also priestly class of Madiga caste. Their main traditional occupation is to perform purudu (ceremony to remove uncleanness of the home arising out of child birth), to invoke and appease the Goddesses like Muthyalamma, Ellamma and Mahishamma. A Bindla is free to accept charity from any caste. He goes from door to door, singing songs in praise of Ellamma (the Goddess of Epidemics), and accepting alms when they are offered to him.

The Madiga's traditional occupation is associated with the leather goods. "The main duty of Madiga is carrying the dead, tanning of hides, and manufacturing rude leather articles, especially sandals, trappings for bullocks, and large well-buckets, used for irrigation".

The Sindu, the entertaining caste of Madiga caste earns their living from entertainment among the Madigas. "The traditional occupation of "Sindhollu" is to perform dances and play veedibhagavatham (street play) in Madiga colonies. They believe that they have right to beg from Madiga caste. They attend all Madiga ceremonies and entertain them by singing and dancing. The Dakkal caste is considered as the lowest in social hierarchy and untouchable to Madiga caste.

(vi) Commensalities among Scheduled Castes.

- (i) Commensual practice is another indicator in Hindu ritualistic gradations. Shri Andre Beteille stated that the common meal expresses symbolically both unity of those

who eat together and the cleavages between who required to eat separately. Ritual separation, having been elaborated to a high degree in Hindu society serves to maintain the cleavage within the caste system. Generally two castes will not inter dine unless the structural distance between them is small. Some castes are more exclusive in the commensual restrictions than others. These restrictions are equally practiced both by Savarna Hindus and Scheduled Castes.

(ii) There are certain rules that restrict the taking of food, water, and access to the temples among Scheduled Castes. The Mala does not take food or water from the Madiga, the lower caste. Mala Jangam, Mala Dasari and Mitha Ayyalwar do not eat or drink from Mala, Madiga and Dakkal castes. Similarly other castes do not take cooked food or water from these castes. Mala and Madiga castes have separate wells and temples. Mala does not take food or water from Mastu, Gurram Mala and Madiga caste. But all these castes take food and water from the priestly class of Mala. The Sangari, the Gurus to Madiga, strictly refrain from eating food touched or cooked by Madiga or other satellite castes. Bindla, though enjoys higher social status Madiga satellite castes, the higher castes do not take either cooked food or water from Bindla caste. Being worshippers of Shakti (the power), they do not take food or water from the hands of their satellite castes, since they consider themselves as sacred. But T.R. Singh in his study found that Bindla accepts food and water from Madiga and vice-versa. Sindu, the entertaining caste of Madiga caste does not take food or water from Dakkal caste. But their food or water is acceptable for Madiga. Dakkal caste that occupied the lowest social status in social hierarchy accepts food and water from all castes, except Vishwa Brahman. The food or water of Dakkal caste is not acceptable to any other caste. The Dakkal caste has to take food or water standing outside Madiga house. Thus the Scheduled Castes do not drink or dine in common. These commensualities indicate the foundation of Panchama hierarchy and caste cleavages within Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

(vii) Social distance.

(a) Notion of purity and pollution is one of the important determinants of physical distance between castes. It is also the indicator of their social distance and their place in

cultural development and in social hierarchy. It is witnessed in the habitation of castes, in the location of village, which is the center of social, economic and political development. Shri Andre Beteille had aptly observed that "physical structure of village is, in some measure, a reflection of its social structure. The distribution of population is not haphazard or random, but evinces a more or less conscious plan. It brings out in a great manner some of the basic unities and cleavages in social structure of the village. People who are close to each other in social system tend to live side by side; people whose social positions are widely different live apart, other things being equal, physical distance can be seen as social distance".

(b) It is empirically proved that the houses, the living quarters of Scheduled Castes and other castes are not together, as they were planned to the tune of social hierarchical values. Among the depressed classes, Mala lives next to shudras. Mala and Madiga live in separate hamlets. Generally the habitations of Madiga and its satellite castes are away from the outskirts of the villages, located at distance about 0.4 km from the cluster houses of washermen (shudras). Usually the dwellings of Madiga are in outskirts of villages, where the dirt of the village is lodged in heaps. Dakkal, the last one in the social hierarchy live away from the Madiga living quarters. Persons from Dakkal caste are not allowed to enter the living quarters of Madiga, but they pitch their huts of bamboo mats at a distance from Madiga houses.

(c) This physical distance of Scheduled Castes from upper caste and shudras and between their satellite castes is the best indicator of social and cultural distance among the different castes in village India. The social distance, which is rooted in notion of purity and pollution, is a mechanism which deprives Scheduled Castes of their opportunities in various fields. In the descending order the Scheduled Castes are deprived of opportunities, as many times as there are social layers. In other words the last man, Dakkal is deprived of the culture by its upper castes, that is, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vyshya, the Shudras, the Mala and the Madiga.

(20). Mala deliberately keeps Madiga away from their organisations

People from Mala caste have established thousands of organisations in different names. Most often they use the name of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Wherever one sees the above name, it is nothing but Mala Organisation where there is no place for Madiga. One of their organizations namely Scheduled Castes Inter Departmental Committee (Sneha) which has emerged as premier Scheduled Castes Organization. It is organising the Scheduled Castes Officers, which has over 1,717 officers in various organizations. It has published the names of their committees. It is deliberate exclusion of Madiga and other castes in these organisations.

(21). New inequalities within Scheduled Castes

(a) The educational facilities provided by Indian Constitution are not equally utilised by Scheduled Castes as a consequence of internal cultural difference among them. Poverty of parents, exposure to social reform and Christian missionary activities helped Mala caste in cornering reservation benefits more than Madiga caste. According to Census of India 1981, about 16.55% of literacy rate recorded within Scheduled Castes, but there was unequal progress of literacy among them. The major caste, the Madiga recorded only 9.86% of literacy rate meaning more than 90% of its population remained illiterates. The highest literacy rate (28%) was recorded by the Adi-Andhra, which accounted for just 8.98% of Scheduled Castes. The literacy rate of Mala, Adi-Dravida, Dakkal and others is 21.75%, 20.44%, 10.28% and 17.18% respectively. At matriculation level, the Mala stood first (53.15%), the Madiga second (28.01%), the Adi Andhra third (15.58%), the Adi-Dravida fourth (1.33%), the last is the Dakkal (0.002%) in the ladder of education. Similar pattern of educational inequalities are found within Scheduled Castes at college level and above.

(b) The Mala had dominant position at all levels of Government jobs cornering more than 75% of jobs. The Madiga secured, less than 25% of jobs creating an unequal representation of all Scheduled Castes within reserved sphere of public employment creating new inequality in availing reservation benefits by different communities among Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

(c) There is summation of caste, class and power in India. It implies, that ones caste position in Chaturvarna hierarchy determine and subsumes ones socio-economic and political position. It means that those who have high caste position will also have higher position in socio-economic and political spheres. In other words, the higher the caste status the higher the class and political power in India. It is also true in case of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. The Mala has higher status than Madiga in Scheduled Caste hierarchy. Identical to their higher status, the Mala has higher status in reserved spheres of education, employment and politics.

Representations from Relli community

The main occupation of Relli caste is gardening and selling vegetables and fruits. In the later stage, some people from their castes got employment as sweepers and scavengers for their lively hood. The main issues described in their representations are indicated hereunder:

(2) Among 59 castes, the most benefiting and already developed castes like Mala and Madiga are enjoying the reservation privileges given by the Government. Even though Mala and Madiga are enjoying 13% (6+7) reservation, they do not allow others to avail even the remaining 1+1% reservation. Following facts are submitted regarding Relli community.

(a) Untouchability

For generations, Relli caste has been engaged in unclean and filthy occupations such as cleaning of toilets, lifting of night soil etc. On account of this, gradually the word 'Relli' lost its relevance and has almost become extinct. Now Relli is no longer referred to as 'Relli' but as 'Paky' meaning 'cleaners of toilets'. In addition, the inequalities and disparities existing among the Hindus as well as within the Scheduled Castes have further marginalized and pushed Relli caste to the bottom of the caste system. An analogy on the social status of Relli can also be drawn from the usage of the word 'paky' by the society. The word 'paky' is used to insult a person to mean the lowest human being. It is considered to be the nastiest insult that one can fling at another. Due to the nature of occupation carried on by Relli, they are socially isolated and made to live on the outskirts. Despite several legal safeguards, it is unfortunate that even today, in certain regions, untouchability against Relli is still prevalent.

(4) Poverty

(a) People from Relli caste are pre-dominantly engaged in unclean and filthy occupations. Economically, these occupations provide meagre income barely enough to sustain. Added to this, majority of our forefathers took to alcohol to overcome the discomfort and stigma attached to filthy and unclean occupations. Alcoholism has thrown

the families of Relli caste into abject poverty, arrested their thinking and halted their social and economic progress.

(b) With rapid technological advances, the traditional occupation of Relli caste no longer find relevance in today's world and as a result many of them find themselves in a jobless state. They do not possess any other skills to find any alternative employment. The schemes launched by the Central and State Governments for rehabilitation have never reached the intended beneficiaries. To add to their misery, the State Government of Andhra Pradesh since 2002 has discontinued granting compassionate appointments on medical invalidation grounds. Their forefathers were engaged as sweepers and scavengers in various municipalities, were forced to retire on medical invalidation grounds as their health deteriorated due to their constant exposure to filth and garbage. The pension provided to such retiree is paltry. As the State Government of Andhra Pradesh has discontinued providing compassionate employment on medical invalidation grounds, the dependent family members of the retirees is facing severe financial distress. In view of this, people from Relli caste has requested the Commission to examine the issue of providing compassionate employment on medical invalidation grounds so as to tide away the financial crisis that they are currently going through.

(5) Marginal presence in education and public appointments.

(i) Relli caste is pre dominant is coastal Andhra Pradesh. Despite having a sizable population, the number of Relli attending/attended institutions of higher education is abysmal. In terms of employment, presence of Relli caste in lower cadre public appointments is marginal when compared to the other Scheduled Castes. In higher cadre public appointments such as IAS, IPS etc presence of Relli caste is absolutely zero.

(ii) Though the low socio-economic status of Relli may have been largely responsible for low presence in higher education and public appointments as noted above, another significant reason is the dominance of Mala in coastal Andhra Pradesh.

(iii) Although Mala caste is distributed throughout the State, they are pre-dominant in coastal Andhra region. It is public knowledge that many people from Mala caste profess

Christianity but the same is not reflected in official records because of the controversy surrounding on provision of Scheduled Caste reservation benefits to Dalit Christians. On the other hand, people from Reli caste are predominantly Hindus. The help extended by Christian missionary to Mala caste has helped them to get benefits from the special provisions provided for the Scheduled Castes after Independence. As a result, the Mala caste has a relatively greater presence in education, employment and politics in disproportion to the size of their population.

(6) Oppression in sports

(i) Studies conducted indicate that the physical structure of the boys and girls from Reli caste is well-suited for certain physically demanding sports. The boys and girls from this caste have won many laurels both at the State and National level in sports such as Badminton and Football. However, none of these accomplishments are recognized. As they are socially, economically and politically backward compared to the other castes, the sportspersons belonging to Reli community are not encouraged and are denied the rightful opportunities. The boys and girls from Reli caste have the necessary skills and abilities to achieve excellence in sports, and if their potential is channelized in the right direction, they would make our nation proud.

(7) Zero Political Representation

During the last 50 years after independence all the reserved seats of Assembly and Parliament were represented by the candidates belonging to Mala and Madiga communities only. At present, 24 seats in Legislative Assembly and 5 seats in Parliament have representatives from Mala community, where as 15 seats in Assembly and remaining one seat in Parliament have the candidates from Madiga Community. Basing on their proportionate population basis, Reli should get two seats in Assembly on each and every time. In case Scheduled Castes have been categorized into four groups and the benefit is extended to political arena as well, Reli and its allied castes can send 2 representatives of their own community to Assembly every time.

The State Government of Andhra Pradesh too while addressing the media mentions only 'Mala' and 'Madiga' as representing the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh completely ignoring the other sub castes. Since the State Government of Andhra Pradesh is shying away from acknowledging our existence, and, in any case, as the reservation benefits have not been percolating down to Relli caste, this caste may be clubbed with Scheduled Tribes. The language, culture and traditions of Relli group merit classification as Scheduled Tribe.

So long as Relli does not have political representation, they would not be able to have their grievances heard. In order to attain social equality amongst the sub castes, the political benefits should also be equitably distributed amongst the all sub castes.

(8) Some of the concerns of Relli caste are as under:

(i) "Backwardness" as criterion for allocation of benefits amongst the sub castes.

Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission allocated percentage entitlements to the sub-castes on the basis of their respective population strength. The criterion of 'population' for computing percentage entitlements may be appealing because of its simplicity, but may not bring in the desired objective of social and economic equality within the sub castes. Therefore, people from Relli caste have requested the Commission to use 'backwardness' rather than 'population strength' as the criterion for allocation of reservation benefits to the sub castes. In addition, it may be noted that on many occasions it was acknowledged that Relli caste is the most backward of all the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, in order to bring the people from Relli caste on the same platform with the other Scheduled Caste sub-castes, the Commission is requested to consider the case sympathetically and allocate a percentage entitlement of 2% to Relli caste.

(ii) Relli women candidates' reservation in public services needs examination.

Relli caste was able to capture the vacancies reserved for its men, it however failed to obtain the vacancies reserved for its women, as Relli caste is yet to have qualified women candidates. As a result, the seats reserved for Relli caste women candidates

invariably got allotted to women candidates belonging to the next lower groups, Madiga and Mala. Effectively, out of every two vacancies notified, the Relli Group lost out to the other castes with regard to the vacancy reserved for Relli caste women.

(iii) Treatment of Relli Group candidates hailing from coastal Andhra Pradesh region as 'local candidates' for admissions into educational institutions located in Telengana and Rayalaseema regions.

(i) Educational development is the key to the progress of any community. The move to sub categorize Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh for equitable distribution of educational benefits to the various sub castes is a step in the right direction. However, the current regulations governing admissions into educational institutions in Andhra Pradesh cause serious injustice to the interests of Relli caste.

(ii) Admissions into educational institutions of Andhra Pradesh are governed by Andhra Pradesh Educational Institutions (Regulation of Admissions) Order, 1974 (the "1974 Order"). As per the 1974 Order, 85 percent of the seats available in an educational institution are to be reserved for 'local candidates' as defined in the said order. For this purpose, the State of Andhra Pradesh is divided into three different regions: Coastal Andhra Pradesh, Telengana and Rayalaseema. Further, the reservation benefit available to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes, women etc., are to be implemented consistent with the policy with regard to 'local candidates'.

(iii) As noted above, Relli caste is concentrated in the Coastal Andhra region and its presence is marginal in Telengana and Rayalaseema regions. The Supreme Court in *E.V.Chinnaiah Vs. State of Andhra Pradesh and others*, while deliberating on the constitutional validity of Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Reservation Act, 2000 observed that the Relli caste is the most backward of all Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh and therefore, there is requirement of providing special facilities such as separate hostels, scholarships, rehabilitation packages to Relli caste in order to bring them on par with the other Scheduled Castes.

(iv) Sub categorization to provide equitable distribution of educational and employment benefits would alone would not be sufficient to bring the Relli caste on par with the rest of the sub castes. Sub categorization is only a temporary solution. For a long term perspective, a special package needs to be provided for social, economic and political advancement of the Relli caste.

(v) With globalisation, the world has become extremely competitive. In today's life, one needs sophisticated training and tools in order to remain competent. Relli caste has just come out to the open and are realizing the importance of education for development of the community, whereas, the other castes such as Mala have been enjoying the benefits of reservation since Independence. As a result, children of Relli caste are least equipped to compete with the rest of the communities. Therefore, in the addition to equitable distribution of reservation benefits, there is an urgent need for special measures so that Relli caste would be able to capitalize and come on par with other castes in Andhra Pradesh.

(vi) The forefathers of Relli caste hailed from ranges of Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa about 300 years ago. Because of their poverty and negligence, they marched towards northern area of Andhra Pradesh with their belongings and settled in the Visakhapatnam District. Their main profession was gardening and selling vegetables and fruits. The profits derived from their profession were meagre and insufficient to satisfy their hunger. Thus they lived in poverty, illiteracy and unhealthiness.

(vii) When the local bodies and Municipalities were established in Andhra area by the then Madras Presidency, some of the poverty stricken people from Relli caste moved from the erstwhile Visakhapatnam district and were engaged as sweepers and scavengers in the local bodies and municipalities of various districts of Andhra Area. Thus people belonging to Relli caste were appointed as scavengers and have been called as 'Paky' there after.

(viii) During the fifty years period, all the reservation facilities, privileges, benefits and other safeguards provided through the Constitution had been totally enjoyed by a particular Mala Community whereas the other castes had been deprived of their opportunities.

(ix) Disproportionate distribution of reservation benefits have gone to Mala and Adi Andhra group of Scheduled Castes compared to their respective population. Majority of other sub castes including Relli and Madiga castes are not adequately represented either in public appointments or in educational institutions compared to their respective population which is evident from the facts mentioned hereunder:

(9). Education

(i) Mala caste people send their children to corporate schools/colleges for education and special tuitions are being provided to them by experts. Relli caste people, who are poor and living in ordinary houses facing family problems, are sending their children to ordinary schools/colleges. They are unable to provide minimum facilities to their children. Under such circumstances the children of Relli caste can compete with those children of Mala caste in getting medicine and engineering seats.

(ii) At present there are 88465 (EAMCET) seats in engineering colleges and 5465 (EAMCET) seats in 48 Medical Colleges. Most of the engineering and medical seats have been filled up with the candidates belonging to Mala caste. Whereas the candidates of Relli and its allied castes hardly get 50 to 60 seats in engineering colleges and 5 to 8 seats in medical colleges annually. In case the Scheduled Castes have been categorised into four major groups, Relli and its allied castes will definitely get 885 engineering seats and 55 medical seats every year.

(10). Employment

Not a single candidate belonging to Relli caste was appointed either as IAS or IPS Officer so far. Likewise not a single candidate of this caste was appointed as Group-I Officer as direct recruit. However, 31 candidates from Relli caste were appointed in Group-II category. Whereas a large number of vacancies in IAS, IPS, IRS, Group-I and II

services reserved for Scheduled Castes have been filled up with the candidates belonging to Mala and its allied castes. The number of reserved vacancies in the above services filled up with the candidates of Madiga community is negligible. Most of the vacancies in Class-III to IV categories in the State have been filled up with the candidates belonging to Mala and its allied castes. More than 2 lakhs of vacancies in Class-III to IV categories have been filled up with these candidates so far. Total number of vacancies filled up with Relli and its allied castes does not exceed a few hundreds.

(11). Land Reforms

Thousands of acres of Government land had been assigned to Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. Since a good number of IAS Officers belonging to Mala caste occupy important seats in Secretariat and at District head quarters, major portion of assigned land goes in favour of Mala caste only. The ultimate beneficiaries in getting loans from Scheduled Caste Corporation and District Rural Development Agency are those candidates belonging to Mala and its allied castes only. In sanction of loans from Scheduled Castes Development Corporation, Relli caste is miserably neglected. Relli and its allied castes are unable to get even a cent of Banjar land from Government. Therefore, their request is to distribute Government lands to Rellis also proportionately as per their population.

(12). Benefits during the period of sub categorisation

The categorization of Scheduled Castes was in operation for a short period of 4 years i.e., from the year 2000 to 05.12.2004. During this period the candidates belonging to Relli and its allied castes were benefited in getting maximum number of seats in educational institutions and vacancies in public employment. About 180 candidates of Relli Group got EAMCET, Medical seats and 3100 candidates of this group got EAMCET Engineering seats. During this 4 years period hundreds of candidates of Relli group were appointed as ACTO's Teachers, College Lecturers, Doctors, Engineers on reservation basis. Hundreds of candidates belonging to Relli Group got employment in Class- III and Class-IV categories.

Representation from Budaga Jangam community

Budaga Jangam caste is one of the 59 castes among the Scheduled Castes and it has a population of nearly 20 lakhs, who have spread all over Andhra Pradesh. They are basically nomadic castes with no personal residence. Because they are nomadic, they don't have permanent residence, addresses and the caste issuing authorities deny caste certificates. Not a single family got any assistance from the Government or their children able to avail any reservations provided to the Scheduled Caste communities.

2. Among the Scheduled Castes, all castes except Budaga Jangam were developed financially, politically and also got employment opportunities. Since Independence, the Government schemes and basic facilities have not come to the doorsteps of Budaga Jangam caste. People from this caste live by hunting the small animals and living far away from the villages in small huts. The people used to play the musical instruments, tell stories in the villages and beg in the villages. They are living below poverty and are uneducated.

3. In Budaga Jangam caste, there is no Gazetted Officer or MLA or M.P. or even Serpanch. This shows their position in the society. Before categorisation of Scheduled Castes, there were 100 children educated upto the Inter/Degree level. The same was 500 at the time of categorisation (2000 to 2004). After cancellation of categorisation, the future of Budaga Jangam and their children is unknown. They have demanded that 3% reservation may be provided to Budaga Jangam community by doing categorisation of Scheduled Caste category as ABCD Groups.

Representation from Holiya Dasari community

The humble submission of "Holiya Dasary Sangam" of Krishna District and resolutions taken by the Association is as under:

1. The "Holiya Dasari Sangam" was established as per the Act of XXI 1860 Society No. 511 of 1999, Sing Nagar, Vijayawada-15, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh.
2. The Scheduled Castes may be classified into A, B, C and D groups. And Holiya Dasari caste may be placed in C group.
3. The loans and houses granted for Scheduled Castes did not reach to Holiya Dasari till today. Even today, they are waiting for the said loans and houses too from the District Authorities.
4. In the classification "Holia Dasary" people must be given not less than 5% according to their population.
5. Holiya Dasari caste is spread in 50 Mandals. No financial assistance or help is reaching these poor people. They have no lands and no houses. They keep begging and wandering throughout Andhra Pradesh. They have no permanent residential places or houses.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE FLOW OF BENEFITS TO COMMUNITIES AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

In this chapter, the data received by the Commission from the State Government and Census (2001) for the district have been analysed to see which communities among the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh have received the benefits of statutory reservation and from the various schemes and programmes that have been implemented by the State Government for the welfare of these communities. The 23 districts of the state of Andhra Pradesh cover the 3 regions of the state, viz. Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Telengana. The distribution is as follows:

- I Coastal Andhra – (1) Srikakulam, (2) Vizianagaram, (3) Visakhapatnam, (4) East Godavari, (5) West Godavari, (6) Krishna, (7) Guntur, (8) Prakasam and (9) Nellore.
- II Rayalaseema – (10) Chittoor, (11) Cuddapah, (12) Anantapur and (13) Kurnool.
- III Telengana – (14) Mahabubnagar, (15) Rangareddy, (16) Hyderabad, (17) Medak, (18) Nizamabad, (19) Adilabad, (20) Karimnagar, (21) Warangal, (22) Khammam, and (23) Nalgonda.

In the following sub sections each district is analysed separately according to the Scheduled Castes and the benefits received by them. Further, data on schedule caste employees working in different banks of Andhra Pradesh and students from SC communities taking admission in different universities have also analysed, interpreted and presented in this chapter to examine about the communities that are receiving majority of employment and higher education. The details about the distribution of benefits and government posts are given in Annexure I A. The tables on data on distribution of benefits to various communities among the Scheduled Castes in the district are given in Annexure I B. The benefits could be broadly divided into three categories: (A) Educational Programmes; (B) Government Schemes; and (C) Employment. The profile of the district is given in Annexure I C. The data on SC employment in various Banks and Universities and SC admission in different Universities is given in Annexure I D.

DISTRICT WISE DISTRIBUTION OF FLOW OF BENEFITS AMONG SCHEDULE CASTES

SCHEDULE CASTE POPULATIONS IN THE STATE – SOME FEATURES:

Literacy is defined as the ability of a person to read and write, with understanding a short simple statement in their everyday life. Literacy rate among the schedule castes of Andhra Pradesh is admirable, as more than half of them are literate. SC communities from most of the districts of Coastal Andhra have high literacy level; whereas those from most of the districts of Telengana have low literacy level. However, districts with both the highest and lowest literacy rates of SC communities are from Telengana region, with Hyderabad being the highest and Mahabubnagar being the lowest. Besides, it is apparent that SC communities from most of the districts are agricultural labourers, suggesting that they do not own any land. Therefore, to sustain their livelihood they work as daily labourers in the land of affluent people. Besides, a sizable number of them are self-cultivators. Further, it is evident that districts from Telengana region have accommodated higher number of SC communities, as compared to those from Coastal Andhra or Rayalaseema region. The highest number of SC communities has observed in Ranga Reddy district of Telengana, whereas the least number of SC communities has found in Kadapa district of Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh. Among SC communities, Madiga and Mala are the two major population groups. Of these Madiga is the largest population group in all the districts of Telengana region and 5 districts of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema region, whereas Mala is the largest population group in 8 districts of coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema region.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES:

Before going further about different educational programmes, it is perhaps worth mentioning here that one of the major educational programmes is Post Matric Scholarship, which is totally entitled to schedule castes. Therefore, any schedule caste community people can avail this scholarship. However, in reality this is not the case. Although out of total 60 communities 51 communities have availed this scholarship across the district, only 10 communities have availed it in more than 6 districts. Rests of the 41 communities have

considerable percentage of these schemes. In addition, Adi Andhra has even received few government schemes exclusively. Further, other communities that have received some schemes are Dom, Beda Jangam, Jambuvulu, Ghasi, Paky, Mala Dasari, Mala Dasu, Madiga Dasu, Chamar, Manne, Holey Dasari, Mehtar, Byagara, Samagara, Mala Jangam and Gosangi.

EMPLOYMENT:

In employment it is evident that total 54 communities have occupied different government posts out of 60 communities of Andhra Pradesh. However, it worth mentioning here that besides 9 communities, rests are found only in 3 or 4 districts and in a negligible percentage. It is further observed that only Mala has occupied the largest number government posts in all the districts, except in 4 districts of Telengana region, namely Mahabubnagar, Ranga Reddy, Warangal and Nalgonda, where Madiga has occupied the maximum number of posts. In most of the districts Mala has occupied posts significantly more than their population share in the respective districts. However, Madiga has mostly occupied posts in a percentage less than their population, especially in Telengana region. In some districts Mala and Madiga have occupied more than 90% of total posts in various government offices. In addition, Relli has occupied a good percentage of posts in Coastal Andhra region and Adi Andhra in Rayalaseema and Telengana region. Further, other communities that have occupied some percentage of total posts are Dom, Chamar, Ghasi, Paky, Adi Dravida, Arundhatiya, Bariki, Mahar, Mehtar, Bindla, Godari, Mala Jangam, Mala Dasari, Mala Dasu, Madiga Dasu, Madasi kuruva, Mala Sale, Mang and Mitha Ayyalvar.

received in a negligible percentage in 2 or 3 districts only. Further, it is interesting to note that although majority of the SC communities have higher percentage of students in different educational levels [Primary, Middle (7th), Matric (SSC), Inter, Graduation and above] as compared to the total population of the schedule caste in the state, a different picture emerges when we analyze the educational programmes of the state government. For instance, the major portion of the education benefits in the Post Matric Scholarship has been shared between Mala and Madiga communities. Similarly, in admission to residential schools, only 5 communities, namely, Mala, Madiga, Adi Andhra, Reli and Adi Dravida have shared benefits and only 6 communities have shared Bright Boys scheme. Mala received that largest share in most of the districts of Coastal Andhra and few districts of Rayalaseema and Telengana region, which is even significantly higher in some districts than their population share in the respective districts. Madiga received the largest share in most of the districts of Telengana and few districts of Rayalaseema region.

GOVERNMENT SCHEMES:

In government schemes also similar trend is noticed. It is obtained by the commission during the filed survey that schemes under the Schedule Caste Cooperative Society Ltd., provided to the communities according to their population in the respective districts. However, in reality it is observed that all over Andhra Pradesh only 29 communities have received this scheme across the districts. Moreover, the major proportion of this scheme has been shared between Mala and Madiga. Besides, total 40 communities have received various government schemes, e.g., SGSY, Economic benefits and other schemes. Of these, except for Mala and Madiga other communities have received only in 2 or 3 districts. In few districts Mala have received some schemes exclusively and some schemes have been shared between them and Madiga entirely. Moreover, in Coastal Andhra region Mala received the largest share of all government schemes, which is sometimes more than their population share in the respective districts. In Rayalaseema region Madiga have taken the largest proportion of government schemes and in some districts they have even taken the entire portion of these schemes. Similarly, in Telengana region Madiga received the largest portion of government schemes, which is even more than their population share in some districts with respect to those districts. Besides, Reli and Adi Andhra have received a

Schedule Castes of Andhra Pradesh based on the Educational benefits including Higher Education achieved, Government Schemes and Government Employment including Public Sector, Banks and Universities

Category	Name of the Beneficiary SC Communities		
Received majority of benefits and in a proportion more than their population share in all the Districts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mala, Mala Ayawaru 2. Madiga 3. Adi Andhra 		
Members of this group have received in Proportion or less than their population share in almost all the districts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relli 2. Adi Dravida 3. Beda (Budga) Jangam 4. Mala Dasari 5. Mala Dasu 6. Madiga Dasu, Mashreen 7. Chamar, Mochi, Muchi, Chamar-Ravidas, Chamar-Rohidas 8. Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano 9. Ghasi, Haddi, Relli, Chanchandi 10. Bindla 11. Mala Sale, Netham 12. Paky, Moti, Thoti 13. Arundhatiya 14. Mahar 15. Dakkal, Dokkalwar 16. Mehtar 		
Received Benefits less than their population share and only in few districts	<table border="0"> <tr> <td> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aray Mala 2. Malajangam 3. Arwa Mala 4. Mitha Ayyalvar 5. Jambuvulu 6. Dhor 7. Dandasi^s 8. Pamidi 9. Godari 10. Gosangi 11. Bariki 12. Madasi Kuruva, Madari Kuruva </td><td> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Sindhollu, Chindollu 16. Samban 17. Manne 18. Holeyasa Dasari 19. Samagara </td></tr> </table>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aray Mala 2. Malajangam 3. Arwa Mala 4. Mitha Ayyalvar 5. Jambuvulu 6. Dhor 7. Dandasi^s 8. Pamidi 9. Godari 10. Gosangi 11. Bariki 12. Madasi Kuruva, Madari Kuruva 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Sindhollu, Chindollu 16. Samban 17. Manne 18. Holeyasa Dasari 19. Samagara
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aray Mala 2. Malajangam 3. Arwa Mala 4. Mitha Ayyalvar 5. Jambuvulu 6. Dhor 7. Dandasi^s 8. Pamidi 9. Godari 10. Gosangi 11. Bariki 12. Madasi Kuruva, Madari Kuruva 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Sindhollu, Chindollu 16. Samban 17. Manne 18. Holeyasa Dasari 19. Samagara 		

	13. Mang
	14. Kolupulvandlu, Pambada, Pambanda, Pambala
Received either negligible percentage of benefits or no benefits at all	1. Godagali, Godagula
	2. Jaggali
	3. Bavuri
	4. Mala Masti
	5. Holey
	6. Byagara, Byagari
	7. Matangi
	8. Mashti
	9. Chambhar
	10. Yatta
	11. Panchama, Pariah
	12. Chachati
	13. Mundala
	14. Anamuk
	15. Chalavadi
	16. Chandala
	17. Sapru
	18. Mang Garodi
	19. Ellamalawar, Yeilammalawandlu
	20. Valluvan
	21. Mala Sanyasi
	22. Mala Hannai

DISTRICT WISE DISTRIBUTION OF FLOW OF BENEFITS

Now, if we consider each district separately, following observations could be obtained.

- (1) SRIKAKULAM: Schedule caste populations of this district constitute only 2% of the total schedule caste population of the state and this district has accommodated 36 Scheduled Castes, out of 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh. Although their literacy level is almost equivalent to the total population of the district, they are mostly agricultural labourers. Mala is the largest population group. More than 90% of the benefits, schemes and govt. posts are shared between Mala, Madiga and Relli, resulting into deprivation of other 33 communities of this district from receiving various government schemes, educational benefits and opportunities in employments.
- (2) VIZIANAGARAM: This district has accommodated 34 Scheduled Castes, out of 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh. The schedule castes from this district are agricultural labourers, though little less than half of them are literate. Mala is the largest population group, followed by Madiga. Major proportions of benefits have shared between Mala and Madiga communities and other communities received less than their population share. In employment sector, Mala and Madiga occupied posts according to their population share, whereas Relli and other communities occupied very less posts. Adi Andhra occupied significantly higher percentage of posts than their population share.
- (3) VISAKHAPATNAM: Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, 51 Scheduled Castes are inhabited in this district. Schedule caste populations of this district constitute 2.4% of the total SC populations. Mala is the largest population group, followed by Madiga. Their literacy level is admirably higher than the literacy rate of the total population of the district. In educational programmes as well as in government schemes, major share of benefits have gone to Mala and Madiga. Besides, Adi Andhra has received a large portion of benefits in both educational programmes and government schemes. However, in employment Mala and Relli have occupied majority of the posts. Other communities are deprived from schemes as well as various government posts.

(4) EAST GODAVARI: Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, this district has accommodated only 39 Scheduled Castes. It is evident that schedule castes population of this district constitutes a good 7.2% of the total SC population of the state. Even if a high percentage of them are literate, majority of them are agricultural labourers. Among all the communities, Mala is the largest population group, followed by Madiga. Mala received the largest share of educational benefits, government schemes as well as in employment sector, along with Relli. Adi Andhra received major share of educational benefits and government schemes, but did not get their share in employment. Madiga received both educational benefits and government posts less than their population share. Other communities, on the other hand are deprived from both educational benefits and government posts.

(5) WEST GODAVARI: Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, this district has accommodated 36 Scheduled Caste groups. Mala are the largest population group, followed by Madiga, Adi Andhra and Relli. In this district, majority of the government schemes have been shared between Mala, Madiga and Adi Andhra. However, in employment in government offices, it is Mala and Relli that have shared major posts and largely disproportionate to their population share.

(6) KRISHNA: This district has accommodated 43 Scheduled Caste communities, out of 60 Scheduled Castes. Information indicates that SC population from Krishna constitutes 6% of the total schedule caste population of the state. Even though majority of them are literate, most of them are agricultural labourers. Madiga and Mala are the largest SC communities of the district. Mala and Madiga have taken away the greater part of educational benefits, government schemes as well as various government posts. Besides, Relli have received some share in government schemes and in employment. Among other 43 communities of this district, 9 communities, including Adi Andhra, have received a negligible share in benefits and employment, whereas rest of the communities did not receive any benefits.

(7) **GUNTUR:** Out of 60 Scheduled Caste communities of the state, 33 Scheduled Caste communities reside in this district. They are mostly agricultural labourers, although a nominal percentage of them are literate. Nearly equivalent percentages of Madiga and Mala contribute to the total SC population of the district. Although the populations of Madiga and Mala are almost equal with Madiga's marginally higher, Mala have received the largest proportion of all the educational benefits, government schemes and various government posts. Among other 31 communities of the district, 10 communities have received some benefits, but rest of them did not receive any benefits or government posts.

(8) **PRAKASAM:** This district of Coastal Andhra region has accommodated 27 Scheduled Caste communities. Majority of them are agricultural labourers, even though more than half them are literate. Madiga is the largest population community, closely followed by Mala. It is evident that almost all the educational benefits, government schemes and posts in various government offices have shared between Madiga and Mala communities, resulting into a sheer deficiency of benefits for rest of the 25 communities of the district. However, although Madiga and Mala share educational benefits and government schemes almost equally, Mala outnumber Madiga in employment, irrespective of the fact that Madiga has the largest population in the district.

(9) **NELLORE:** This district has accommodated 36 Scheduled Caste communities, out of 60 Scheduled Caste. It is clearly evident that most of the SC communities of the district are engaged in agricultural labour work, even though a good percentage of them are literate. Mala is the largest population community. In all the educational benefits and in employment Mala received the largest share, which is even significantly higher than their population share in the district. Although Madiga have received a good percentage of benefits in almost all the educational programmes, they could not occupy many posts in government offices. Rest of the 34 communities of this district did not receive any educational benefits, except Adi Andhra and Samban. In employment also, only 12 communities have occupied negligible percentage of posts, whereas rest of the communities did not receive any benefits.

(10) CHITTOOR: This district has accommodated 34 Scheduled Castes, out of 60 Scheduled Castes. It is apparent that SC populations of this district are basically agricultural labourers with a fair percentage of literacy level. Mala is the largest population group. The share of Mala has outnumbered all the other communities in educational benefits and even in employment. Adi Dravida along with Madiga received some benefits in educational programmes, but not in employment. Other communities either received negligible percentage of benefits or did not receive any benefits at all.

(11) CUDDAPAH / KADAPA: This district has accommodated 24 Scheduled Caste communities, out of 60 Scheduled Castes of the state. Majority of SC communities from this district are agricultural labourers. Mala and Madiga are two major population communities of the district with Mala marginally higher in population. Likewise other districts, Mala has taken away the largest share of educational benefits, scheme and government posts. Madiga, though have received educational benefits and government scheme more or less in percentage equivalent to Mala, they were far behind in occupying posts in various government offices. Among the rest of 22 communities of this district, around 12 communities have received insignificant percentage of educational benefits, government schemes or government posts. However, rest of the communities did not receive any benefits.

(12) ANANTHAPUR: Out of 60 Scheduled Caste communities of the state, 34 Scheduled Caste communities reside in this district. It is apparent that a considerable percentage of SC populations from the district are agricultural labourers, which is higher as compared to the total population of the district. Madiga is the largest population group. Almost all the educational benefits and government posts have shared between Madiga and Mala, with Mala taking in a percentage significantly greater than their population share in the district. Among the rest of the 32 communities of this district, only 7 communities have received negligible share of educational benefits and 18 communities have occupied some posts in government offices, including Adi Andhra. However, rest of the communities has not received any benefits so far.

(13) KURNOOL: This district has accommodated 31 Scheduled Castes. It is noticed that SC population of this district constitutes 5% of the total SC population of the state. They are mostly agricultural labourers with a literacy level lower than the SC communities of other districts. Madiga is largest population group, followed by Mala with a population half of Madiga. Almost all the educational benefits and government posts have shared between Madiga and Mala in equal proportion, with Mala getting significantly higher percentage and Madiga lower percentage as compared to their population share. However, in government schemes Madiga received the largest share. Among the rest of the 29 communities of this district, 10 communities have received insignificant percentage of benefits, except Adi Andhra who have received a good percentage of posts in government offices.

(14) MAHABUBNAGAR: This district has accommodated 37 scheduled caste groups out of 60 total scheduled castes. Madiga is the largest population group, followed by Mala. Majority of this people are engaged in agricultural labour work. In educational benefits, government schemes and employment, Madiga and Mala have shared the major portion of benefits, which results into an entire deficiency of benefits for other 35 communities of the district. Besides, even though Madiga has a population more than four times than that of Mala, Mala received that largest share of benefits in some government scheme and almost equivalent percentage of posts in government offices.

(15) RANGAREDDY: This district from Telengana region has accommodated 54 caste groups, out of 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh. Little more than half of the SC populations of the district are literate and majority of them are either agricultural labourers or cultivators. Madiga is largest population group, followed by Mala. The largest share of educational benefits and government schemes has received exclusively by Madiga community only. Almost entire part of rest of the share has received by Mala and only a very negligible portion has gone to 8 other communities. However, in employment both Madiga and Mala have occupied almost equal number of posts, which cover most of the government posts. Among other communities, Adi Andhra has occupied some posts, but

other 10 communities have occupied insignificant number of posts. Rests of the 42 communities of this district did not receive any benefits at all.

(16) HYDERABAD: This district has accommodated 53 communities, out of 60 Scheduled Castes. It is apparent that a large number of SC populations from the district are literate and mostly they are engaged in 'Other than household Industry'. The largest SC population of the district is Madiga, closely followed by Mala. Almost the entire proportions of educational benefits and government schemes have shared between Madiga and Mala. However in employment, more than half of the government posts have occupied by Mala only. In university, Adi Andhra has occupied some posts. Nevertheless, among other communities only around 20 communities have received some benefits, but rests of the 30 communities of this district did not receive any benefits.

(17) MEDAK: This district has accommodated 46 Scheduled Castes. It is evident that SC populations of the district constitute 4% of the total SC population of state. Their literacy rate is low and most of them are agricultural labourers. Madiga is the largest population group, followed by Mala. Almost the entire portion of educational benefits, government schemes and government posts has shared between Madiga and Mala. Among other communities, 14 communities have received some benefits. Nevertheless rests of the 30 communities of the district did not receive any benefits at all.

(18) NIZAMABAD: Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, this district has accommodated 44 Scheduled Caste groups. It is apparent that majority of SC communities from this district are either agricultural labourers or cultivators. Among these SC communities, Madiga has the largest population, closely followed by Mala. All the educational benefits as well as government posts have shared between Madiga and Mala communities only with the largest portion went to Mala. Among other communities, only 19 communities have received some benefits and 4 communities have occupied negligible percentage of posts. Rest of the 23 communities of the district did not receive any benefits at all.

(19) ADILABAD: Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, this district has accommodated 52 Scheduled Caste groups. It is observed that SC communities of the district are either agricultural labourers or cultivators. The major population communities of the district are Madiga and Mala. Major share of educational benefits and government schemes are distributed more or less equally between Madiga and Mala. However in employment, it is only Mala who has occupied the highest percentage of government posts. Among other communities, around 23 communities have received some educational benefits, government schemes or government posts. Nonetheless, rests of the 27 communities of the district did not receive any benefits in last eight years.

(20) KARIMNAGAR: Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, this district has accommodated 53 Scheduled Castes. It is evident that Madiga is the largest SC community of the district. Most of the SC communities are either agricultural labourers or cultivators. Educational benefits are mostly shared between Madiga and Mala. In government schemes, however, other communities have also received some benefits along with Madiga and Mala. Among other communities 15 communities have received some benefits. Nevertheless, rests of the 36 communities of the district did not receive any benefits.

(21) WARANGAL: This district has accommodated 44 Scheduled Caste communities, out of 60 Scheduled Caste. The largest SC community of the district is Madiga with a population four times more than that of the second largest community, Mala. Almost half of the total SC populations are literate. Majority of the SC communities are either agricultural labourers or cultivators. Nearly the entire proportion of educational benefits, government schemes and government posts are shared between Madiga and Mala. However, Madiga received benefits less than their population share and Mala received significantly greater than their population percentage in the district. Insignificant percentage of benefit has gone to other 26 communities, although rests of the 16 communities of the district are totally deprived from any benefits.

(22) **KHAMMAM:** Out of total 60 Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh, this district has accommodated 40 Scheduled Caste groups. It is noticed that the literacy rate of SC population is admirably comparable with district literacy level, even though majority of them are agricultural labourers. Madiga is the largest population group, followed by Mala. Majority of educational benefits, government schemes and government posts have shared between Madiga and Mala. Madiga received the largest share in educational and government benefits; however in employment sector Mala has occupied the maximum number of posts. Other 8 communities have received negligible percentage of educational benefits, government schemes or posts in government offices. Nonetheless, rests of the 30 communities of the district did not receive any benefits.

(23) **NALGONDA:** This district of Telengana region has accommodated 39 Scheduled Caste communities. More than half of the SC communities of the district are literate, although most of them are either agricultural labourers or cultivators. Madiga is the largest population community with a population more than three times than that of, the second largest community, Mala. All the government schemes are exclusively shared between Madiga and Mala. Similarly, majority of educational benefits and government posts are shared between Madiga and Mala with Madiga getting the largest portion. However, Madiga received benefits less than their population percentage and Mala received considerably greater than their population share, especially in employment. Among other communities, only 5 communities have received some benefits and 19 communities have occupied negligible percentage of government posts. Nevertheless, rests of the 18 communities of this district did not receive any benefits.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULE CASTE EMPLOYEES IN DIFFERENT BANKS AND UNIVERSITIES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

SCHEDULE CASTE EMPLOYEES IN BANKS:

In order to investigate the employment status of different Schedule Caste communities in various banks of Andhra Pradesh, State Government's data from ten major banks of Andhra Pradesh have been analysed and interpreted. These banks are: 1) Godavari Grammeena Bank, 2) Karnataka Bank, 3) Saptagiri Grammeena Bank, 4) Andhra Pradesh State Co-operative Bank, 5) Oriental Bank of Commerce, 6) Canara Bank, 7) Syndicate Bank, 8) Deccan Grammeena Bank, 9) Andhra Bank and 10) State Bank of Hyderabad. The data reveals that out of 60 communities of the state, 38 communities have occupied officers, clerks, sub staffs and part time level jobs in different banks. It is apparent from the information gathered that Mala has occupied more than fifty percent of the total posts available for schedule castes in various banks. Although Madiga are the largest population group in this state, they have occupied only 28.4% of the total posts. Further, in the designation of bank officers, clerks and sub staffs, it is only Mala that have occupied 61%, 58% and 52% of the total posts respectively, which is significantly greater than their population share in the state. Only in part time jobs, Madiga has occupied higher percentage of posts as compared to Mala. However, in each kind of designation they have occupied seats in a percentage noticeably lower than their population share in the state. Besides, Adi Andhra has occupied a good percentage of posts in bank employment, which is higher than their state population share. Similar is the case with Arwa Mala. On the other hand, Adi Dravida and Relli, two major populated SC communities, have occupied posts little less than their population share. Rests of the 33 communities have occupied negligible percentage of total posts.

SCHEDULE CASTE EMPLOYEES IN UNIVERSITIES:

Out of total 23 universities of Andhra Pradesh, State Government's data on Schedule Caste employees working in 12 universities have analysed and presented in this section. These universities are 1) Andhra University; 2) Acharya Nagarjuna University; 3) Dr. NTR University of Health Sciences; 4) Kakatiya University; 5) Sri Venkateswara University; 6) Dravidian University; 7) Sri Venkateswara Institute of Medical Sciences; 8) B.R. Ambedkar Open University; 9) Potti Sreeramula Telugu University; 10) Acharya N.G. Ranga Agricultural University; 11) J.N.T. University and 12) Central Institute of English and Foreign Language. It is evident from the data that out 60 sub castes of this state, only 18 sub castes have occupied teaching and non-teaching posts in these 12 universities. Further, Mala has occupied more than 50% of the posts in almost all the universities, which is higher than their population percentage in the respective districts. In Dr. NTR University of Health Sciences, they have even occupied 86% of the total posts. Madiga, on the other hand, have occupied posts in an equivalent or lesser percentage in these universities as compared to their population percentage in the respective districts. Adi Andhra and Relli have occupied posts in a fair percentage and mostly in a percentage more than their population share in the respective districts. Other communities like Dandasi, Adi Dravida, Pamidi, Mehtar, Chamar, Beda Jangam, Aray Mala, Mahar, Mala Dasari, Bariki, Arundhatiya, Chalavadi, Mala Sale and Madasi Kuruva have occupied posts in a negligible percentage.

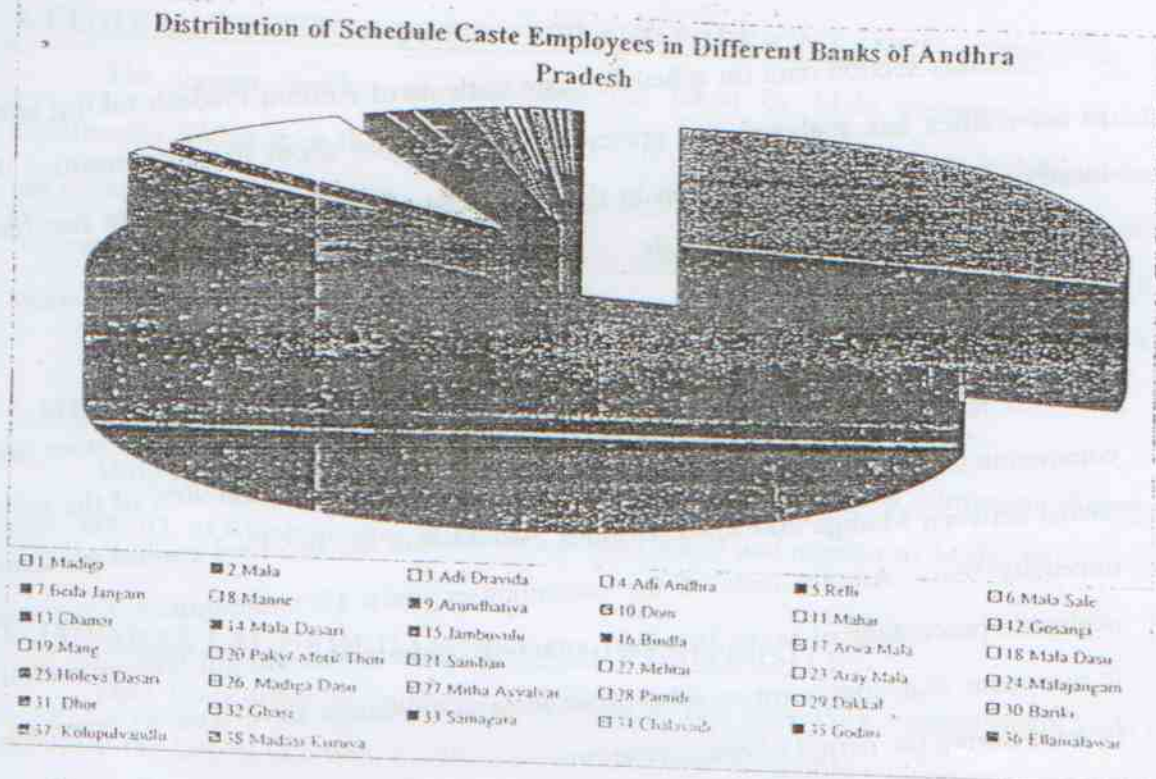


Figure 5.1: Distribution of Schedule Caste employees in Banks of Andhra Pradesh

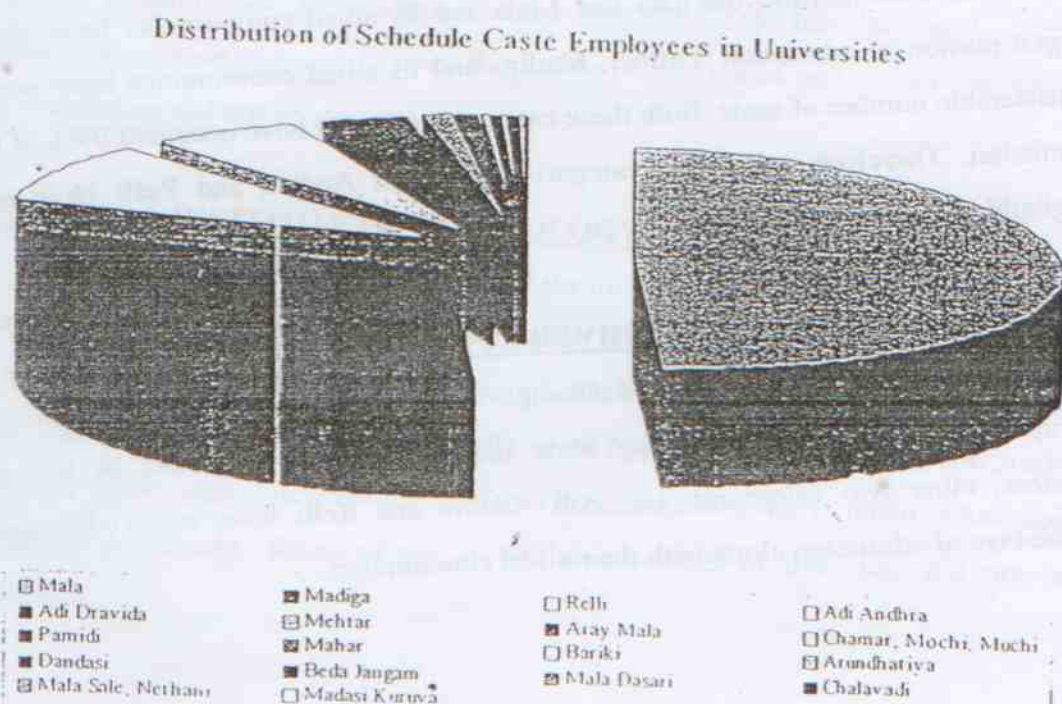


Figure 5.2: Distribution of Schedule Caste employees in Universities of Andhra Pradesh

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULE CASTE STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT UNIVERSITIES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

In this section data on schedule caste students of Andhra Pradesh taking admission in universities has analysed and presented to investigate about the communities that are mostly achieving higher education in this state. Out of 23 universities, data has furnished from 20 universities for this analysis.

1. ACHARYA N.G. RANGA AGRICULTURE UNIVERSITY:

It is apparent from the data that out 60 SC communities of this state, only 18 communities have occupied university seats. Among them, more than 90% of the seats have shared between Madiga and Mala. Besides, Adi Andhra has received a good percentage of university seats. Among rests of the communities, only 15 communities have shared a negligible percentage of seats. However, other 42 communities did not take any admission. It is evident that communities other than Mala and Madiga have tend to received more benefits during the period of categorisation.

2. ACHARYA N.G. NAGARJUNA UNIVERSITY:

It is evident from the data that Mala and its allied communities have shared the largest portion of admission. Further, Madiga and its allied communities have occupied a considerable number of seats. Both these categories together have occupied 99% of the total admission. Therefore, other two categories, i.e., Adi Andhra and Relli have occupied negligible percentage of admission.

3. Dr. B.R.AMBEDKAR OPEN UNIVERSITY:

It is noticed that Mala and Madiga along with their allied communities have occupied majority of the university seats and they shared them more or less equally, whereas, other two categories, i.e., Adi Andhra and Relli have received insignificant percentage of admission along with their allied communities.

4. CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES:

The largest number of admissions has taken by Mala community, which is significantly higher than their population share in the state. As compared to Mala, Madiga has occupied less number of university seats, which is far less than their population share. Among other communities, Adi Dravida, Adi Andhra, Mahar, Chamar and Mehtar have taken some admissions, where as rests of the 53 communities did not take any admission.

5. MULANA AZAD NATIONAL URDU UNIVERSITY:

Only two communities, namely Madiga and Mala have taken admission during the year 2006-07, of which number of Madiga student was 2 and number of Mala student was 1.

6. JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU TECHNOLOGY UNIVERSITY:

Data from different engineering colleges of this university suggests that Mala has occupied the largest number of college seats every year invariably with a range from 30.2% in 2000-01 to 52.3% in 2006-07. Besides, Madiga has also occupied a considerable percentage of seats, which range from 28.1% in 2000-01 to 44.3% in 2006-07. Other than these two communities, Adi Andhra, Chamar and Mala Sale have received some seats. Further, 7 communities have occupied negligible percentage of seats, where as rests of the 48 communities did not receive any seats.

7. NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY:

Data suggests that more than 50% of the total seats in this engineering institute have occupied by Mala community only, which range from 52.6% in 2000-01 to 54.4% in 2006-07. However, unlike Mala, Madiga has occupied seats less than their population share in the state, with a range from 29.8% in 2000-01 to 38.0% in 2006-07. Besides, Adi Andhra has occupied some seats, nevertheless other 11 communities have taken admission in a negligible percentage. Rests of the 46 SC communities of this state did not get any admission.

8. NIZAM INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCE:

In this medical institute, only 3 communities, viz., Madiga, Mala and Adi Andhra, out of 60 communities of Andhra Pradesh have shared seats. Among them, Mala has occupied the majority of the seats, which range from 85.7% in 2000-01 to 78.7% in 2006-07. Madiga has occupied less number of institute seats than their population share with a range from 14.3% in 2000-01 to 21.3% in 2006-07. Further, only 2 Adi Andhra students have taken admission in the year 2004-05.

9. POTTI SREERAMULU-TELUGU UNIVERSITY:

It is evident that Mala and its allied communities have occupied the majority of the total seats, which range from 66.7% in 2000-01 to 63.3% in 2006-07. Madiga and its allied communities have got some seats with a range from 33.3% in 2000-01 to 36.7% in 2006-07. However, both Adi Andhra and Relli have taken negligible number of seats along with their allied communities.

10. RASHTRIYA SANSKRIT VIDYAPEETHA:

Data suggests that only Mala and Madiga have taken admission in this university. OF THESE Madiga range from 100% in 2000-01 to 48.8% in 2006-07 and Mala range from 0% in 2000-01 to 51.3% in 2006-07.

11. INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY:

Data indicates that only 3 Mala students have taken admission during the year 2006-07.

12. SRI PADMAWATI VISHVAVIDHYALAM:

From the data it is apparent that majority of the university seats have shared between Mala, Madiga and Adi Andhra communities. Of these Mala occupied the largest share, which range from 50.0% in 2000-01 to 63.9% in 2006-07, whereas Madiga range from 28.6% in 2000-01 to 25.8% in 2006-07. Moreover, Adi Andhra has occupied seats in a percentage much higher than their population share, which range from 17.9% in 2000-01 to 4.1% in 2006-07. Besides, other 5 communities, namely, Adi Dravida, Chamar, Mala Desu,

Mala, Jangam and Madasi Kuruva have occupied some seats. However, rests of the 52 communities did not get any admission.

13. SRI SATHIYA SAI UNIVERSITY:

Data reveals that only 1 Madiga and 1 Mala student have taken admission during the year 2006-07.

14. SRI VENKTESHWARA INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCE:

It is evident from the data that in this medical institute, majority of the seats have shared between Mala and Madiga, with Mala getting the largest portion. Mala taken admission in more than their population share, which range from 76.9% in 2000-01 to 60.4% in 2006-07, whereas Madiga has taken admission less than their population share with a range from 15.4% in 2000-01 to 35.4% in 2006-07. In addition, Adi Dravida and Adi Andhra have taken some seats, whereas other communities like Arundhatiya, Dandasi and Valluvan have taken negligible percentage of total seats.

15. Dr. NTR UNIVERSITY OF HEALTH SCIENCES:

Data suggests that both Mala and Madiga have taken the majority of the seats in this medical university, in more or less equal percentages. Percentages of Mala students range from 31.0% in 2000-01 to 31.9% in 2006-07, whereas Madiga students range from 31.3% in 2000-01 to 29.8% in 2006-07. Among other communities, Adi Andhra, Adi Dravida, Chamar and Relli have taken a good percentage of total seats. Additionally, 20 communities have taken admission in a negligible percentage, where as rests of 34 SC communities of the state did not get any admission.

16. ANDHRA UNIVERSITY:

Out of 60 communities of the state, only 7 communities have taken admission in this university. It is clear from the data that Mala have taken the majority of the seats allotted for the SC communities in a percentage significantly higher than their population share, which range from 53.5% in 2000-01 to 80.7% in 2006-07. Madiga have taken admission in lesser percentage than their population share with a range from 33.2% in 2000-01 to 16.6% in

2006-07. Besides, Adi Andhra and Relli have taken a good percentage of total admission, whereas other 3 communities have got negligible percentage of seats.

17. KAKATIYA UNIVERSITY:

Data indicates that more than 95% of the total SC admissions have shared between Mala and Madiga along with their allied communities. As result, Adi Andhra and Relli along with their allied communities have occupied negligible percentage of the total admission. It is further evident that after removing categorization from the state Mala have taken almost the entire percentage of the admission.

18. NALSAR UNIVERSITY OF LAW:

In this law university only Mala and Madiga have shared the total admissions in a more or less equivalent percentage.

19. SRI KRISHNADEVARAYA UNIVERSITY:

Data suggests that majority of the total admissions have shared between Madiga and Mala with Madiga getting the greater proportion. The percentages of Madiga students range from 57.2% in 2000-01 to 62.9% in 2006-07, whereas Mala students range from 41.1% in 2000-01 to 32.4% in 2006-07. In addition, Adi Andhra have received some percentage of the total admission, while other 3 communities have taken negligible percentage of admission. S

20. UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD:

It is evident that out of 60 SC communities of the state only 14 communities have taken admission in this university. Mala have occupied the major share of the total SC admission, which range from 56.5% in 2003-04 to 50.9% in 2006-07. on the other hand, Madiga taken admission less than their population share with a range from 33.3% in 2003-04 to 42.3% in 2006-07. In addition, Adi Andhra has taken a considerable percentage of total admission, which is higher than their population share. Other 11 communities have taken negligible percentage of total admissions.

Succinctly, in 20 universities that have studied in the present investigation, only 34 Schedule Caste communities have observed out of 60 SC communities of the state. Among them, 23 communities have occupied seats in only 2 or 3 universities. In almost all the universities Mala have taken the majority of the total admission in a percentage significantly greater than their population share in the state, which is more apparent in different technical universities, i.e. Medical or Engineering colleges or institutions. With respect to the population, Madiga have taken admission in a low percentage in most of the universities. Besides, these two communities Adi Andhra have taken admission in a good percentage in these universities. Other communities are largely deprived from benefits of higher education.

Hence, it is evident from the above information that only two or three communities are receiving major share of all the government benefits. There are many communities that have a good literacy rates and have achieved education up to graduation. However, they are neither getting any opportunities in higher education nor any employment in public sectors, banks or in universities, especially in respect to their population share at the district level. Moreover, they are utterly deprived from government schemes including the one that claims to provide financial support according to the population of SC communities in the respective districts. Therefore, focus should be on these communities who neither have received any educational benefits, government schemes nor any opportunities to achieve higher education or any government posts. The commission wants all the communities to receive benefits according to their population share in the respective districts.

Gist of evaluation study on the extents of benefits accrued to all Scheduled Castes communities included in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950 in Andhra Pradesh:

The Commission had assigned to the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad a Research Study titled, "Evaluation Study on the extent of benefits accrued to all the Scheduled Caste communities included in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 in Andhra Pradesh". The following were the objectives of the study:

- a) To present and analyze the Census data and other available demographic and developmental data on Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.
- b) To present data on distribution of Scheduled Castes among 59 Sub-Castes in 1981, 1991 and 2001.
- c) To present data on size of sub-population work participation rates, occupational distributions, literacy and educational levels of sub castes in 1981 and 2001 and analyse comparative growth;
- d) To try to obtain data on share in public employment of SCs, and in particular various sub-caste groups; and
- e) To try and obtain data on share in political representation and public offices.

2. The report of the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad, is given in Annexure II. As a part of the Research study, the Indian Institute of Economics had obtained primary data from the sample households selected from the following districts:

I	<u>Coastal Andhra</u>	II	<u>Telengana</u>	III	<u>Rayalaseema</u>
1.	Visakhapatnam	6	Mahabubnagar	12	Chittoor
2	West Godavari	7	Medak	13	Anantapur
3	Krishna	8	Karimnagar		
4	Prakasam	9	Warangal		
5	Nellore	10	Ranga Reddy		
		11	Adilabad		

3. While selecting the sample house holds in the respective districts, the proportionate population of the respective regions was kept in mind. About 30 per cent of the population of the State is urban and the remaining 70 per cent are from rural areas. Accordingly 30 per cent of the sample house holds have been distributed among the Municipal Corporations, Towns and Major Panchayats with above 5000 population in the respective districts. The remaining 70 per cent households are from the villages having less than 5000 population. The selection of households in a habitation has been on random sampling basis, within the Scheduled Caste locality of the habitation.

4. In each district about 10 Mandals have been selected, spread in all the divisions and from each Mandal about 2 villages, with 10 households from each village have been selected for the purpose of study. The proportionate representation of the major sub-castes while selecting sample households in each district was observed. However, in respect of minor sub-castes, whose population is negligible in the district, a sample of 10 households for each minor sub-caste in a district was maintained to the extent possible. Thus the overall sample for all the districts together was 2431.

5. The evaluation study report has been prepared in three parts. Volume-I of the study report consists of Constitutional frame work of Scheduled Castes, Demographic profile of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, changing profile for Scheduled Castes and Analysis of population of various sub-castes, literacy, educational levels, work participation, employment status and economic benefits given sub-caste wise, based on the Census data available and other secondary data collected from various sources.

6. The Volume-II of the evaluation study report consists of all the profiles sub-caste wise, which have been prepared, based on the data available. This is followed by the district-wise analysis of the reports for which field survey was conducted. The same has been incorporated in Volume-III of the study report. The primary data has been tabulated

district-wise and analysed. The salient observations in the report are described in subsequent paragraphs:

7. Observations in the report:

A. Sub caste wise educational levels of family members:

(i) Literacy and level of education are two basic indicators of the levels of development achieved by a group/sub caste. The literacy results in awareness besides contributing to the overall improvement of health, hygiene and social conditions.

(ii) The study has given educational levels of family members from the sample villages as per following details

(a) It can be seen from the report that out of 36 communities surveyed, the highest number of illiterates i.e. 75% and above are found among the Chamars, Godagali, Mala Dasari and Pambada. In contrast, the percentage of illiterates has declined sharply among Malajangam (3.8%), Chandala (16.0%), Mehtar (17.8%) and Bavuri (25.0%). It is also revealed that the percentage of graduates is zero among Anamuk, Bavuri, Byagara, Chachati, Chambar, Dom, Ellamalawar, Ghasi, Godagali, Godari, Gosangi, Mala Dasari, Mang, Paky and Pamidi. Higher number of Graduate are present in communities like Malajangam (17.6%), and Chandala (12.0%), Dandasi (11.8%).

(b) The disparities in achievement in educational level of Scheduled Castes are more glaring at Post Graduate and above levels. The presence of eight communities has been recorded at the Post Graduate level, whereas other communities could not achieve this level of education.

- (c) The stark reality, that appears is that there is vast differences in the level of education achieved by different Scheduled Caste communities.

B. Sub-Caste wise Occupational Status:

- (i) It is revealed from the report that out of 36 castes surveyed, only 15 communities have occupied Government posts, which varies from 2% to 46.2% across the castes. The remaining 21 communities are totally absent from these jobs, giving the impression that a significant number of communities have remained outside the Government Sector.
- (ii) The situation is worse in public Sector where out of 36 communities surveyed, only 8 have occupied a post with a range from 1% to 11.4% across the castes. The remaining 28 communities have not got any employment in Public Sector.
- (iii) More or less above mentioned trend continues in Private and Self Employed Sector.
- (iv) Among the educated employees, out of 36 communities, only 3 communities namely Madiga, Mala and Mala Dasari have occupied posts with a range from 1.4% to 5.1%. Remaining 33 castes are totally absent showing that upward mobility in employment sector, from uneducated/illiterate to educated employment sector is captures by a few castes only.

C. Percentage of irrigated land holdings is surveyed Districts:

It appears from the report that irrigated land holding varies from 2.5 acres to 10.00 acres in the sample villages. The dominant community is Aray Mala. Other communities either have very insignificant holdings of land or they are totally landless.

D. Income level and expenditure pattern:

Most of the communities under study fall in the income group of Rs.1,001/- to Rs. 5,000/-. Only 8 castes have found in the income group of Rs. 10,000/- and above. Similarly, expenditure also shown the skewed nature, as only 17 communities are evident in the group of Rs. 1,000/- and above.

E. Conclusion:

The overall impression that one gets is that without substantial policy change, the remaining unrepresented castes are not going to get the desired benefits in future.

**VIEWS OF THE COMMISSION ON THE ISSUE OF
SUB CATEGORISATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES
IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

During its tenure, the Commission received representations from various organisations and individuals belonging mainly to Mala, Madiga, Relli, Budga Jangam, Mala Dasari etc castes. These representations have been summarised in Chapter IV of this report. Out of 60 Scheduled Caste communities in Andhra Pradesh, Mala and its sub castes have not favoured sub categorisation. The other communities like Madiga, Relli etc., are in support of sub categorisation. The Commission, based on the information received and also its observation during field visits has come to the conclusion that there is need for sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. The objections raised against the sub categorisation are answered in subsequent paragraphs.

- (a) It has been suggested that the scope of the Commission should be all India instead of only the State of Andhra Pradesh.

The following grounds show that this suggestion cannot be adopted.

(i) As per the provision of the Constitution, the State Government can decide the matter of reservation in the services and appointments in their State. It was the Andhra Pradesh State Assembly, on three occasions, passed the historic and unanimous resolutions, supported by all the political parties for sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes. The ground realities of the States differ from each other and on request, based on ground realities, such a sub categorisation can be examined by a National Commission.

(ii) Besides this, in the various facets of demands, as intimated to this Commission by the various organisations and individuals by written submission and also during the public

hearing in various Districts in Andhra Pradesh as well in the Commission's Headquarter in New Delhi, it has been demanded that the issue related with matter of services and educational institutions in Andhra Pradesh only may be examined. As there is no demand for sharing or division of job quota etc in the post and appointments in Central Government, there is no need to expand the scope of the Commission to cover other States.

(iii) It is further mentioned that the Scheduled Castes do not constitute a homogenous class in relation to their social, educational and economic backwardness in the country. Their aspiration, demands and problems differ from State to State. In accordance with the aspirations of the public, different measures have been adopted by various State Governments. The sub categorisation may be considered only on the merit of the case in each State.

Conclusion:

It is clear that the consideration of the different facets of demand related with sub categorisation in Andhra Pradesh only, is an apt action as assigned to the Commission by the Government of India. There is no justification for this Commission to examine the issue beyond Andhra Pradesh.

(b). It is mentioned that Scheduled Castes are a homogenous group and cannot be divided by sub categorisation.

Traditional occupations, commensual practices, physical structure of the village etc., are indicative of the fact that Scheduled Castes are not homogenous group. The details are indicated in subsequent paragraphs.

(2) The traditional occupations of the castes have been the basis for caste hierarchy. Most of the traditional occupations are hereditary as they are inherited by individual social groups by the incident of birth in a particular caste. The Hindu Dharma Shastras have

described in detail the duties and functions of different Varnas in four fold division of castes. The caste division itself was based on the functions allotted to each caste in society. These functions have become traditional occupations of each caste in course of time. The ritualistic pandits have given gradations to these occupations depending upon nature of occupations and explained them in the notion of purity and pollution or clean or unclean occupations.

(3) Commensual practice is a indicator in Hindu ritualistic gradations. The common meal expresses symbolically both unity of those who eat together and the cleavages between who required to eat separately. Ritual separation, having been elaborated to a high degree in Hindu society; serves to maintain the cleavage within the caste system. Generally two castes will not inter dine unless the structural distance between them is small. Some castes are more exclusive in the commensual restrictions than others. These restrictions are equally practiced both by Savarna Hindus and Dalits.

(4) Physical structure of village is, in some measure, a reflection of its social structure. The distribution of population is not haphazard or random, but evinces a more or less conscious plan. It brings out in a great manner some of the basic unities and cleavages in social structure of the village. People who are close to each other in social system tend to live side by side people whose social positions are widely different live apart, other things being equal, physical distance can be seen as social distance.

(5) One of the major communities called Madiga has furnished anthropological material in detail, which emphatically indicate that there is nothing, which unites Madiga with another major community called Mala. Following distinct features, as narrated by eminent anthropologist are worth consideration on this issue:

- (i) The occupation of Mala and Madiga are totally different as former are engaged as agricultural labour and related activities and later community are

leather working caste. Madigas are described as one who works in tanning services as a menial.

(ii) The Mala treats Madiga as inferior and practice untouchability.

(6) It is informed to the Commission by certain organisations that the Mitha Ayyalwar is at the top of Dalit hierarchy while Dakkal at the bottom. The superiority in Dalit hierarchy flows from upward to downwards while inferiority from downward to upwards. In the Mala hierarchy Mitha Ayyalwar is considered to be superior, standing at the top of the ladder. Mala Jangam and Mala Dasari come from the priestly class, and function as spiritual advisors to Mala satellite castes. They are also called Mala gurus. They consider Mala and Madiga inferior to them. In the Mala satellite castes Mala Jangam/Dasari are at the top of Mala hierarchy. Next to them are Malas. Pambala, Masti and Gurram Malas in the descending order in the hierarchy, which is heterogeneous in nature.

(7) Every caste is an endogamous group among Dalit satellite castes. Every Mala sub-caste is an endogamous group and restricts social functions such as marriages to their own endogamous group. For instance Mala Jangam/Dasari take girls from their own sub-caste. They also take girls in marriages from other Mala castes, but do not give their own daughter in return. Malas do not give their daughters to Madigas. In case marriage takes place, the girl will be excommunicated from the caste.

(8) The Mala satellite castes are engaged relatively in clean occupations, which finds higher place in gradation of occupations compared to Madiga satellite castes. The Mala Jangam and Mala Dasaris officiate over the festivals of Saivaite section of Malas and Mitha Ayyalwar officiate ceremonies of Vaishnavite Sect of Malas. The traditional occupation of the priestly class of Malas is religious mendicancy and foretelling. Mala Jangam are engaging themselves as agriculture labourers during agriculture seasons. Their traditional occupation is graded higher in traditional society.

(9) The chief occupation of Mala is weaving and working as farm labourers and few cultivate their own lands. Traditionally they are very close to village activities. Mala Masti

people are acrobats and earn their livelihood by performing physical feats, mostly in the Mala localities. The Gurram Malas, who are considered lowest of Malas, earn their living by begging from Mala caste.

(10) Madiga rank next to Mala in the Dalit hierarchy. In the Madiga satellite castes the superiority flows from the Madiga Guru, the Sangari to Dakkal and inferiority from Dakkal to Sangari. In the hierarchy of Madiga Satellite castes, the Sangari's position is the highest. It is seen in villages, the Madiga, Bindla, Mastu and Dakkal are inferior to Sangari in a descending order. All the castes including the Madigas treat a Dakkal as untouchable. The Brahmanic innovation of superiority, inferiority and untouchability has percolated down to the Dakkal, the untouchable of the untouchables.

(11) Every sub-caste in Madiga satellite communities is an endogamous group. Among the Madigas too, the marriage is exogamous that is marriage will not be contracted among the same intiperu (Surname) but it is done only among their own sub-caste members. Bindla, the priestly class of Madigas, the Sindu, the entertaining caste, the Dakkalvar take girls for marriages from their own sub-caste.

(12) Madiga satellite castes were engaged in extremely unclean occupations compared to that of Mala traditional occupations. They have been placed at lower level in the graded occupational structure. Sangari, the spiritual advisor to Madigas performs religious functions. Their traditional occupation is preaching to Madigas. Bindlas are also priestly class of Madigas. Their main traditional occupation is to remove uncleanness for the home arising out of childbirth. A Bindla is free to accept charity from any caste. He goes from door to door, singing songs of praise of Ellamma (the Goddess of Epidemics), and accepting alms when they are offered to him.

(13) The Madigas traditional occupation is associated with the leather goods. The main duty of Madiga is carrying the dead, tanning of hides, and manufacturing rude leather articles, especially sandals, trappings for bullocks, and large well-buckets, used for irrigation. They play them on marriage and other religious occasions. At the time of any

announcement in the villages, Madigas are asked to play Tappeta or Dappu. Crying in a village street, which is popularly known as Dandora. In villages, each Madiga household is attached to a fixed number of cultivating households. The attachment to a household is called Tega and a Madiga who is attached to the house is called Tega Madiga. Madigas used to earn their livelihood mainly from their traditional occupation and the rest from agriculture labour.

(14) Madiga Mastu, another satellite caste earn their living by displaying their acrobatic feats, in Madiga colonies and receive their customary payments. They visit different villages and exhibit acrobatic feats.

(15) The Sindu, the entertaining caste of Madigas, earns their living from entertainment and prostitution among the Madigas. The traditional occupation of Sindollu is to perform dances and play veedibhagavatham (street play) in Madiga Colonies. They believe that they have right to beg from Madigas. They attend all Madiga ceremonies and entertain by singing and dancing. They also maintain themselves by prostitution in Madiga Colonies.

(16) The Dakkals are considered lowest in social hierarchy and untouchable to Madigas. Every Dakkal family has a Jurisdiction over 10 to 20 villages where he has a right to collect amount in the households earmarked for them. The practice of begging and telling the genealogy of Madigas is still continuing with the Dakkals in villages.

(17) There are certain rules that restrict the taking of food, water, and access to the temples among Dalits. The Malas, the higher caste Dalits does not take food or water from the Madigas, the lower caste Dalit in village India. Mala Jangam, Mala Dasari and Mithal Ayyalwar do not eat or drink from Malas, Madigas and Dakkal. Similarly other castes do not take cooked food or water from these castes. Malas and Madigas have separate wells and temples. Malas do not take food or water from Mastu, Gurram Malas and Madigas. But all these castes take food and water from the priestly class of Malas. The Sangari, the gurus to Madigas, strictly refrain from eating food touched or cooked by Madigas or other satellite castes. Bindla though enjoys higher social status in Madiga satellite castes, the

higher castes do not take either cooked food or water from Bindlas. Being worshippers of Shakti (the power) they do not take food or water from the hands of their satellite castes, since they consider themselves as sacred. Sindu, the entertaining caste of Madigas" do not take food or water from Dakkals. But their food or water is acceptable for Madigas. Dakkals who occupied a lowest social status in social hierarchy accept food and water from all castes, except Vishwa Brahman. The food or water of Dakkals is not acceptable to any other caste. Dakkals have to take food or water standing outside Madiga houses. Thus the higher caste Dalits do not drink or dine in common. These commensalities indicate the foundation of Panchama hierarchy and heterogeneous caste cleavages within Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

Views of eminent persons.

- (18) Certain organisations in their written representation have mentioned that Scheduled Castes are not homogenous and in support of their argument have given following opinions of eminent persons:
- (i) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the father of the Indian Constitution said, "there are no two castes which are equal. He also told that caste system is like the steps of a ladder. There is always one above the other. There is an ascending order of reverence and descending of order of hatred and contempt".
 - (ii) Justice Krishna Iyer, internationally famous jurist and former judge of Supreme Court of India in a lecture delivered on "Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit Future" at Madras University in 1990, said, "There is no doubt that Scheduled Castes themselves are made up of many layers of castes, some higher, some lower within the humble hierarchy. This becomes important because the lowest of the lowly suffer more than the other and one of the dynamic strategies to be innovated by socially sensitive policy makers is as to how to prevent the benefits offered to the Scheduled Castes from being gobbled up by the higher layers leaving the lowliest always lowliest. Some methodology where by internal preference is given to the

humblest among the Harijans is badly necessary so that the levelling up may be felt where it is the most needed. Often the dynamic purpose of the social habitation through reservation of seats and posts misfires because the more muscular groups within the larger Harijan groups lap up the cream. Therefore, it may be on the agenda of action to provide as a policy a substantial fraction of the Harijan quota by way of sub reservation to definable sections, most base born, meanest occupational status, direct in poverty".

Conclusion

(19) (i) Information gathered during the visit to urban and rural habitations of Scheduled Castes by the Commission, reveals that Mala and Madiga are distinct entity and marriages do not take place between these two castes. The culture of Mala and Madiga are different. It has come to the notice of the Commission that the caste hierarchy between the two communities some way even results in the practice of untouchability.

(ii) It also came to the notice of the Commission that even Madiga practices untouchability with other Scheduled Castes like Beda Jangam, Budga Jangam, Dakkal etc. Madiga do not allow these communities to enter their houses. There is no sign of homogeneity among the different communities listed as Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

(iii) It is clear from the description made in previous paragraphs that different communities listed, as Scheduled Castes are not homogenous group. Therefore, we must take extreme care to see that objection to sub classification, in the name of homogeneity, is not pushed to such an extreme point as to make the right of equal opportunity cave in and collapse for ever.

(c). It has been alleged that the members of Scheduled Castes are drawn from castes, races or tribes and they are enjoying the special status by virtue of Presidential notification.

The material supplied by different organisations in the form of representation and also oral submission in relation to employment, education and schemes of the state Government and also the information gathered during the field visit to urban and rural Scheduled Caste habitats indicates that benefits have not percolated to the 55-56 communities out of 60 communities listed as Scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh. Mala and allied castes have acquired capability of marching ahead, socially, economically, bureaucratically, politically and thus acquired special vested interests at the cost of others, who are less fortunate but find them clubbed with powerful among the Scheduled Castes in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order.

The statistical data received from various sources indicate that most of the Scheduled Caste communities are not represented at all or grossly under represented in the services of the State. The new status, acquired by these communities, is of no use for them as most of the benefits are cornered by only a few communities.

Conclusion

The new status acquired as 'Scheduled Castes' by virtue of Constitutional (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950 by different communities is grossly in favour of few castes. There is urgent need for sub categorisation of the list of Scheduled Castes so that benefits are divided judiciously.

- (d). It is suggested that sub categorisation is against the principle of equality expressed in the Constitution.

In this regard, it is submitted that Dr. Ambedkar in his speech before the Constituent Assembly gave the object and purpose of enacting original draft

Article 10(3) and also gave elaborate reasons for inserting the word "backward" in the said Article. The said speech is reproduced hereunder:

"Then we have quite a massive opinion which insists that, although theoretically it is good to have the principle that there shall be equality, there must at the same time be a provision made for the entry of certain communities which have so far been outside the administration. As I said, the Drafting Committee had to produce a formulas which would reconcile these three points of view, firstly, that there shall be equality of opportunity, secondly that there shall be reservations in favour of certain communities which have not so far had a 'proper look-in' so to say into the administration. If Honourable members will bear these facts in mind-the three principles, we had to reconcile, - they will see that no better formula could be produced than the one that is embodied in sub-clause (3) of Article 10 of the constitution; they will find that the view of those who believe and hold that there shall be equality of opportunity, has been embodied in sub-clause (1) of Article 10. It is a generic principle. At the same time, as I said, we had to reconcile this formula with the demand made by certain communities that the administration which has now - for historical reasons - been controlled by one community or a few communities, that situation should disappear and that the others also must have an opportunity of getting into the public services. Supposing, for instance, we were to concede in full the demand of those communities who have not been so far employed in the public services to the fullest extent, what would really happen is, we shall be completely destroying the first proposition upon which we are all agreed, namely, that there shall be an equality of opportunity. Let me give an illustration. Supposing, for instance, reservations were made for a community or a collection of communities, the total of which came to something like 70 per cent of the total posts under the State and only 30 per cent are retained as the unreserved. Could anybody say that the reservation of 30 per cent as open to general competition would be satisfactory from the point of view of giving effect to the first principle, namely, that there shall be

equality of opportunity? It cannot be in my judgment. Therefore, the seats to be reserved, if the reservation is to be consistent with sub-clause (1) of Article 10, must be confined to a minority of seats. It is then only that the first principle could find its place in the Constitution and effective in operation. If Honourable Members understand this position that we have to safeguard two things, namely, the principle of equality of opportunity and at the same time satisfy the demand of communities which have not had so far representation in the State, then, I am sure they will agree that unless you use some such qualifying phrase as 'backward' the exception made in favour of reservation will ultimately eat up the rule altogether. Nothing of the rule will remain. That I think, if I may say so, is the justification why the drafting committee undertook on its own shoulders the responsibility of introducing the word 'backward' which, I admit, did not originally find a place in the fundamental right in the way in which it was passed by this Assembly". (Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. 7, pages 701-702). Dr. Ambedkar stated in clear terms that draft Article 19(3) now Article 16(4) was brought in by the Framers of the Constitution to provide "reservation in favour of certain communities which have not so far had a 'proper look-in' so as to say into administration". According to him, the article was enacted with the object of providing reservation to those classes of citizens who are not adequately represented in the State services. Dr. Ambedkar further elaborated the point when he stated "the administration which has now—for historical reasons—been controlled by one community or a few communities, that situation should disappear and that the others also must have an opportunity of getting into the public services". Dr. Ambedkar was referring to the communities, which were dominating the public services and those, which were not permitted to enter the said services. In a nutshell, the reservation under Article 16(4) is meant for backward sections of the classes, which are not adequately represented in the State services. Not adequately represented in the services under the State is the only test for the identification of a class under

Article 16(4). Equality can be assured only when most of the communities are represented equally.

Conclusion:

- (i) From the information gathered and data analysed, it is clear that presently only few castes in Andhra Pradesh have taken the benefits. However, during the period of sub categorisation, benefits were more uniformly distributed among all the caste. Thus it is proved that the sub categorisation is not against the principle of equality. Rather, it is an instrument for equitable distribution of benefits.
- (ii) The sub categorisation done by Government of Andhra Pradesh did not, in any manner, seek to take away the benefit of reservation but only carried with it the spirit of positive action in actually implementing the beneficial mandate of reservation for the most weak and socially more backward. The notification of Government of Andhra Pradesh in this regard had aimed at granting some protection amongst the Scheduled Castes who are the weakest among the weak and politically backward sections of Scheduled Castes in line with the spirit of Article 16 and 46 of the Constitution of India. Thus, what can be called as 'affirmative action' allows protective discrimination is not against the principle of equality.
- (iii) The State Government is not legally and constitutionally duty bound to continue to provide the reservation benefits to those sections of Scheduled Castes who have over representation.
- (iv) The detailed analysis of data received by the Commission and the research study conducted by the Indian Institute of Economics, Hyderabad clearly indicates that sub categorisation has been suggested not on the basis of micro distinction but on the grounds of major distinction between haves and have-nots in the State. Thus sub categorisation cannot be described as against the principle of equality as enshrined in the Constitution of India.

(c). It is suggested that the quality education and other measures for economic development may be initiated for the all the Scheduled caste communities instead of depending on categorisation

(i) It may be seen from various reports and surveys of the Government Departments that despite massive efforts made in terms of financial assistance for various scheme and programme since first Five Year Plan, the disparities among various Scheduled Castes have remained there widely. For the development of Scheduled Castes, the efforts made in Andhra Pradesh are described hereunder:

(ii) Three important instruments for the development of Scheduled Castes have been evolved i.e. Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP), Special Central Assistance to Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCA) and Scheduled Castes Development Corporation (SCDC).

(iii) Of these, the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP) constitutes a distinct feature of the planning process in the country. It seeks in the main, to ensure and secure flow of resources both material and financial for integrated development of the Scheduled Castes.

(iv) The Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP) for Scheduled Castes is based on the basic philosophy that the development efforts for Scheduled Castes should be assigned a central position in the endeavour for growth with social justice, which is the objective of the five-year plans. The philosophy is that the efforts for the development of Scheduled Castes have to be made in every sector of the plan and every department and agency implementing the plan programmes.

(v) It was during the VI five-year plan the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP) concept took shape involving all sectors. In order to ensure utilisation of adequate flow of funds from different sectors of development and to give a proper direction to the programmes for the

development of Scheduled Castes, a number of important policy decisions were taken by the State Government of Andhra Pradesh.

(vi) There are two aspects of the flow of resources for Scheduled Castes: firstly, the direct flows through the family and individual oriented programmes aimed at economic development of Scheduled Castes. Secondly, the indirect flows to the programmes for the Scheduled Castes through provision of services, infrastructure and other facilities.

(vii) The programmes under the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan are to be based on and directly related to and relevant to the development needs of Scheduled Castes, it follows that important target groups such as landless-agricultural labourers, small farmers, traditional artisans such as leather workers, weavers, fisherman etc., as well as unorganised labour are to be at the focus of development perspective. An important operational guiding principle of the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan is that, in all sectors of Plan programmes out lays for the development of Scheduled Castes should be incorporated.

(ix) Guidelines for the preparation of Schedule Caste Sub Plan at District level are as under:

- A Cell has been constituted at the district level with the District Collector as Chairman to prepare SCSP for Schedule Castes by involving Deputy Director (SW), C.P.O and other Officers and to review the programmes and schemes every month and sends copies of the Minutes of the meeting to Commissioner of Social Welfare.
- The budgetary allocations for each sector, department wise and scheme wise are available with the H.O.D's. Based on the budgetary allocations already communicated to the districts by the respective H.O.Ds, schemes have to be designed and plans formulated in the cluster of villages which are predominantly inhabited by the Schedule Castes. To select the cluster of villages in the Mandal, all the villages may be arranged in a descending order of

Scheduled Caste population and select such cluster of villages that account for 50% of the Schedule Castes and implement schemes in a more intensive manner. The Schedule Caste Sub Plan may be formulated by utilizing the following:

- District profile with the status of Schedule Castes in the sectors of health, education and economic development. Village wise/ Scheduled Caste colony wise particulars of existing infrastructure like approach roads, drinking water facilities, drains, electricity etc. and other requirements.
- Budgetary allocations available, department wise and sector wise under current year plan probation under Schedule Caste Sub Plan.
- Sectoral schemes to benefit majority of the Schedule Castes have to be designed and accordingly plan formulated for the selected cluster of villages, keeping in mind the specific needs and requirements of the Scheduled Castes and by pulling the funds of the departments concerned.
- The schemes may be identified based on the village level statistics/ G.I.S., on basic amenities, infrastructure etc. Thus, for example, Schedule Castes localities, which do not have any drinking facility, link roads, street lighting can be selected on priority and schemes for providing the above may be designed and implemented in an integrated manner by pulling the resources of the department concerned. Similarly, villages where there Schedule Caste artisans and where there is scope for cottage and village industries and villages where there are substantial Schedule Caste cultivators may be identified and suitable schemes aimed at enabling the beneficiaries to cross the poverty line may be designed and implemented.
- The District level sector-wise budgetary allocation, SCSP allocation and physical targets proposed to be achieved during the year may be clearly

specified. The scheme wise targets proposed may also be quantified viz: Roads in terms of Kms., economic support schemes in terms of beneficiaries etc. While preparing the SSP documents for the District, the Scheduled Caste localities identified under SCSP for the previous year and the current year and the schemes taken up should be clearly indicated.

- Three formats are designed for monitoring of SCSP of the District. Format-I pertains to Plan and SCSP outlays; Format-II pertains to Department-wise/scheme-wise Plan allocation, SCSP allocation, Plan expenditure, SCSP expenditure and targets and achievements for the previous plan year and scheme wise plan allocation, SCSP allocation and proposed targets for the current year. Format III pertains to the monthly progress report.
- For preparation of the Monthly Progress Reports at District level information has to be obtained from District heads of each sector. The expenditure and achievements have to be obtained from the concerned by 10th every succeeding month.
- District Collectors may select team of Officer to visit the villages selected under SCSP from time to time during the year to monitor and to get feed back on implementation of the programmes taken up under SCSP. They may also identify the bottlenecks in implementation of the programmes and suggest possible remedial measures.

(x) A high level Co-ordination Committee comprising of Chief Secretary to Government as Chairman and Secretary (Planning), Secretary (Finance), Secretary (PR) and Principal Secretary, Social Welfare as Members, has been constituted to monitor the implementation of the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP) and to make suggestions and recommendations for speedy implementation of programmes under SCP vide G.O.Ms.No.170, SDW (B3) Dept, dated 3-11-1981.

(xi) At the District level, a Cell has been set up with the District Collector as Chairman and the Deputy Director (SW) as Convenor and the Chief Planning Officer should assist in preparation of SCP. The Cell shall meet once in a month to review the programmes. A.S.W.Os are also to be involved in the implementation of SCSP programmes.

(xii) In order to have an effective mechanism for monitoring the plan outlay earmarked towards SCP by the Departments and to prevent the diversion of funds to schemes other than the one's designed under SCP, exclusively for the development of Scheduled Castes, a separate Budget Head "789" has been created and is in operation since 1998-99. The amount provided under SCP should not be diverted for another scheme as per instructions issued vide Government Memo.No.570/SCP-II/86-1SW(SCP-II086-1, dated 12-5-86 of the Chief Secretary.

(xiii) It is not only that the State Government has made intensive efforts for monitoring of schemes and programmes, the Central government has not lagged far behind in monitoring. In particular, following some of the important research and evaluation studies were commissioned by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment:

List of studies sponsored by the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment in Andhra Pradesh during the year 2001-2002, 2002-2003 and 2003-2004.

Sl. No.	Name of the evaluation Study	Name of the Organisation	State
1.	Evaluation study on the impact of the scheme of Post Matric scholarship to SCs in Andhra Pradesh	Sri Venkateswara University, Post Graduate Center, Kavali, Andhra Pradesh.	Andhra Pradesh
2	Evaluation study on the impact of the scheme of	Sri Venkateswara University (PG	Andhra Pradesh

	implementation of Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 in Andhra Pradesh.	Department of Law) Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh	
3	Evaluation of implementation of Special Component Plan (SCP) in 16 States having more than 15% population.	National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi.	In 16 States including Andhra Pradesh.
4	An evaluation study of the scheme of grant in aid to Voluntary Organisations working for the welfare of SCs.	Indian Social Institute, New Delhi	Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh
5	A beneficiary level evaluation study of the schemes implemented by the National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation.	Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad	Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh
6	Study of the Main Causes/Reasons for increasing crimes on SCs and STs and the Disposal of cases by Designated Special Courts in comparison to the cases disposed of by Exclusive special courts under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989.	National Law School of India University, Bangalore	Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh

7	Study on implementation of Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 - Impact of assistance provided for relief to the affected persons/ families in Andhra Pradesh.	Adithya Educational Academy, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	Andhra Pradesh
8	Management of Scheduled Castes Welfare Hostels in Andhra Pradesh.	Department of Business Management, Osmania University, Hyderabad	Andhra Pradesh
9	The Study of the Impact of Central and State Schemes Implemented for Educating Scheduled Caste Children up to High School Level at Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh (A Comparative Analysis with a District in Uttar Pradesh)"	Indian Institute of Economics, Federation House, H-6-841, Red Hills, Hyderabad	Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh
10	Concurrent evaluation of the Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Coaching and Allied Assistance for Weaker Section including Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes and Minorities.	Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.	Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal and Punjab
11	Educational status of the children of scavengers in the country: A study to survey the status,	Centre for Dalit Studies, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.	Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat.

	evaluate educational Programme and to suggest measures to alienate the children from moving into scavenging in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh.		Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh
12	Skill development and entrepreneurial training to unemployed Scheduled Caste youth in Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.	Institute of Applied Manpower Research, New Delhi.	Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.
13	Implementation/utilization of Central Assistance by the State of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.	Association for Indian Minorities Service, Andhra Pradesh.	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.
14	Study of the impact of the schemes of Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation on Scheduled Castes of Andhra Pradesh.	Noble Social and Educational Society, Andhra Pradesh.	Andhra Pradesh.
15	Assessment of Land Distribution scheme to SC/ST beneficiaries with special emphasis on income generation and enhancement of social status of Andhra Pradesh	Mano Chaitanya Human Services, Hyderabad.	Andhra Pradesh

(xiv) The above mentioned efforts, with full intensity and noble intention were the theme of the development of Scheduled Castes in

Andhra Pradesh. Despite heavy investment and integrated planning, the majority of Scheduled Caste communities remained sidelined, as they could not reap the benefits. Only a few communities out of 60 listed communities were the major beneficiaries of development programme. The only hope of ray lies for these communities in the sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes.

(xv) Despite all the efforts made since first five year plan and heavy investment in the field of education and other field the vulnerable sections among the Scheduled Castes could not get the fruits of development. Their condition is still pathetic and no hope for their development in near future. The only hope, in view of the Commission, as per information received through representations, field visits to urban and rural habitats, statistical data collected and analysed in this report and research study sponsored through an independent organisation, lies in sub categorisation of Scheduled Castes so that fruits of development are also shared by those neglected communities, who were marginalized by dominant Scheduled Caste communities.

(e) Sub categorisation has been done by some vested interest for their personal goals.

(i) It is alleged that sub categorisation in Andhra Pradesh was initiated by the then Chief Minister Shri Chandrababu Naidu to meet his political aspiration.

(ii) In this regard, it is submitted that as per the representations received and also discussions held with various organisations, the Madiga caste had started this movement long back. Moreover, the sub categorisation has the support of all the political parties in the State

(iii) In view of three resolution passed by the State Assembly, supported by all the parties, it is clear that sub categorisation in the State has a wide support.

(f) The criteria of reservation for Scheduled Castes are untouchability, which gets replaced by 'caste' after classification. The intention of reservation is national integration.

The reservations in services are provided to Scheduled Castes as they were grossly under represented in services of the State. This contention is supported by the Apex Court in the case of Indra Sawhney vs. Union of India (para 364) wherein the Supreme Court has observed that "Not adequately represented in service under the State is the only test for identification of a class under Article 16(4)".

By doing sub categorisation, the State Government has only divided the existing list of Scheduled Castes so that benefits are distributed in justifiable manner. In turn it will create a more suitable ground for national integration. When a community is cornering major share at the cost of other communities than a little ground is left for national integration.

PERCEPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Constitutionally untouchability is forbidden, but the traditional disability persists. Progressive legislation notwithstanding the socio-economic facts of life still keep in deep freeze several categories easily identified as untouchable or depressed classes. The lowest of the lowly, the pariahs among the Panchama, if one may say so, suffer more than the others, and one of the dynamic strategies to be innovated by socially sensitive policy-makers is as to how to prevent the benefits offered to the Scheduled Castes from being gobbled up by one caste leaving the other lowliest. Some methodology, therefore, is needed to ensure that the benefits of reservation for the Scheduled Castes must reach to all the castes, tribes or groups of the Scheduled Castes preferentially to those who have not been able to get the benefit so far. The dynamic purpose of social rehabilitation through reservation will lose its objective if the benefit thereof gets confined to a class or group leaving the large majority with the Scheduled Castes marginalized.
2. From the narration of facts and details given in the previous chapters it clearly emerges that majority of the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh are suffering from such discrimination. Mala and few of its allies are enjoying concessions and benefits of reservations in educational institutions as well as jobs under the State. Out of the 60 Scheduled Castes appearing in the Presidential list under Article 341 of the Constitution of India for the State of Andhra Pradesh, majority of them expressed grievances because of being deprived of the benefits of reservations. They felt that only one caste with few of its allied castes have grabbed all the benefits, concessions and reservations in the educational institutions as well as jobs under the State. Not only these few castes people took benefits of state reservations and concessions, they even grabbed reservations for the posts of I.A.S., I.P.S., M.P. etc. beside taking advantage of political posts in the State like M.L.As, Panchayat etc. Majority of Scheduled Castes in the State of Andhra Pradesh remained

backward socially, educationally and politically beside being disseminated and in adequately represented in the Scheduled Castes quota in educational institutions as well as in jobs. They, therefore, started expressing their grievances through various forums for equal treatment and for representations according to their populations in service under the State as well as in educational institutions.

3. In order to achieve the object of Constitution as enshrined in clause 4 of Article 15 which cast a constitutional duty on the State to reserve seats for Scheduled Castes, in public educational institutions, as well as to make other special provisions as may be necessary for their advancement. Similarly, clause 4 of Article 16 empowers the State to make any provision for the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of "any backward class of citizens" which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

4. In order to satisfy the requirements of Article 15(4), the class must be both socially and educationally backward. so said the Supreme Court in the case of *Vasanth vs. State of Karnataka* AIR 1985 SC 1495 and *Indra Sawhney vs. UOI* 1992 Supp (3) SCC 217 Paras 94A and 462.

5. In *Indra Sawhney's* case (Supra) Supreme Court laid down some important provisions regarding reservations in employment. Some of them are:-

- i) Provision for reservation can be made by legislature by law or by executive order;
- ii) Clause (4) of Article 16 is not an exception of clause(2). They operate in the same field, but clause (4) is a special provision;
- iii) Clause (4) is the exhaustive of the provision that can be made in favour of backward classes in the matter of employment;
- iv) There can be special provisions other than those provided in clause (4);

- v) Backwardness contemplated by Article 16(4) is mainly social. It need not be both social and educational.

6. "Backward Class of Citizens" appearing in Article 16(4) has not been defined in the Constitution. It came up for interpretation before the Supreme Court in Indra Sawhney's case (supra) where the Apex Court observed that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are included in the wider term, "Backward class of citizens". Reference can be made to paras 802 and 803 of the said judgment which reads as under:-

Para 802 "we are of the opinion that there is no constitutional or legal bar to a State categorizing the backward classes as backward and more backward. We are not saying that it ought to be done. We are concerned with the question if a State makes such a categorization, whether it would be invalid. We think not..... To give illustration take two occupational groups viz., goldsmiths and vaddes (traditional stonecutters in Andhra Pradesh) both included within other backward classes. None can deny that goldsmiths are far less backward than vaddes. If both of them are grouped together and reservation provided, the inevitable result would be that goldsmiths would take away all the reserved posts leaving none for vaddes. In such a situation, a State may think it advisable to make categorization even among other backward class so as to ensure that the more backward among the backward classes obtain the benefits intended for them. Where to draw the line and how to effect the sub-classification is however a matter for the commission and the State."

Para 803 "There is another way of looking at this issue. Article 16(4) recognizes only one class viz., "backward class of citizen" it does not speak separately of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, as does Article 15(4). Even so, it is beyond controversy that Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes are also included in the expression "backward class of citizen" and separate reservations can be provided in their favour..... The same logic also warrants categorizations as between more backward and backward. We do not mean to

say - we may reiterate - that this should be done. We are only saying that if a State chooses to do it, is not impermissible in law."

7. Validity of Article 15(4) and 16(4) has been upheld by the Hon'ble Supreme Court in umpteen numbers of cases including the Nine Judges Constitutional Bench in Indra Sawhney's case (supra).

8. The conclusion reached by the Hon'ble Nine Judges Bench in Indra Sawhney's case leaves no manner of doubt that the word "Backward class of citizens" appearing in Article 16(4) include Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If that be so then as observed by the Apex Court in paras 802 and 803 of the same judgment there can not be any constitutional or legal bar to a State categorizing the Scheduled Castes. Article 16(4) confers a discretionary power on the State to make a reservation of appointments in favour of "backward classes of citizens" which, in its opinion, is not adequately represented either numerically or qualitatively in service of the State. This Article 16(4) enjoins the State to take positive action to alleviate inequality or, in other words, it confers power coupled with duty.

9. The Constitution in Article 341 provides for the castes to be included in the Presidential Schedule and also provided safeguards for not deleting/including any caste from/into it. That means the scope of Article 341 is limited to preparing a list of Scheduled Castes for every state and ensuring the States cannot dare to add or delete any caste to/from the list at their whims and fancies. The Article 341 or Presidential list of Scheduled Castes does not specify whether a State should give concessions/scholarships/hostel/reservations/how much percentage of reservations/reservations only for education/reservation for jobs/during initial recruitments/promotions. It is the responsibility and duty of the respective State to provide the necessary safeguards, reservations and concessions to bring these most backward castes on par with other sections of the society. It is also the responsibility of the State to ensure that all the castes/communities receive the benefits and develop uniformly and together. In this process the State is free to provide reservations and allocate percentage of reservations.

That if the reservation benefits are not equitably distributed among all the castes, then it is also the duty and responsibility of the State to take necessary remedial measures – be it rationalization, categorization, sub-classification or apportionment – to rectify the flaws and attain equitable distribution of reservation to all the castes of SCs.

10. As per Article 46, the State is vested with the responsibility of protecting all castes of Scheduled Castes from social injustice as guaranteed by Article 46 that says “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of Scheduled Castes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”

11. When the State of Andhra Pradesh in spite of formulating various beneficial schemes for Scheduled Castes found that many Scheduled Castes were still discriminated, subjected to disabilities, disadvantages, indignities and were suffering as hardly one or two Castes among Scheduled Castes were cornering all the benefits of reservations, it took initiative to take positive action to alleviate inequality amongst the Scheduled Castes in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

12. Keeping the above principles in mind Andhra Pradesh Assembly passed unanimous resolution cutting across the party lines supporting sub-categorization of Scheduled Caste for reservations for the purposes of educational institutions as well as jobs under the State.

13. The Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly on 22.04.1998 had passed the resolution unanimously on need to categorise Scheduled Castes reservation into A, B, C, D as recommended by Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission.

Pursuant thereto Andhra Pradesh Assembly unanimously passed the Scheduled Caste Reservation (Rationalisation) Act 20 of 2000 on 1st April 2000.

The Act 20 of 2000 was challenged by one Mr. E.V.Chinnaiah in the High Court on Andhra Pradesh. The High Court of Andhra Pradesh upheld the Act 20 of 2000. Being not satisfied, Mr. E. V. Chinnaiah challenged the same in the Supreme

Court. The Apex Court vide its judgment dated 5.11.2004 reported in (2005) 1 SCC 394, set aside the Act 20 of 2000 mainly on two grounds, namely:-

- (i) Apportionment of reservations to Scheduled Castes to sub-groups within the castes cannot be done by the State Legislature, only the Parliament is competent to do so.
- (ii) Even Parliament does not have the power to do so since Constitution has intended that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are indivisible homogenous entities.

14. In the light of the observations made by the Hon'ble Supreme Court in E.V. Chinnaiah's case and to ensure that every tribe, races or caste of Scheduled Caste is adequately represented the -

"Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly again passed unanimous resolution on 10.12.2004 recommending the Government of India to take up the matter in the Parliament for enabling sub categorization of the various castes, tribes or races of Scheduled Castes by the State"

15. The Government of India appointed this Commission to answer the references already reproduced in Chapter No-I of the Report.

16. As already pointed out, there are 60 different castes among Scheduled Castes in the State of Andhra Pradesh. From amongst them several castes are leading nomadic and semi-nomadic life. They are almost depending on begging as their profession. Similarly Relli, Mehtar Paki, Moti and Thoti and other allied castes are still doing manual scavenging. They live in severe poverty and illiteracy. They are socially discriminated and exploited. This has led to severe developmental inequalities amongst Scheduled Castes, therefore, most of the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh pleaded before this Commission that in order to enable all the 60 castes of Scheduled Castes to achieve uniform development, and adequate representation in educational institutions as well as in jobs, it is inevitable that reservation in educational institutions and job under the State be guaranteed to all the categories of Scheduled Castes.

17. This Commission visited many villages in 11 districts of Andhra Pradesh where it met various individuals and representatives of various organizations. It collected data from Universities, Government organizations, banks, financial institutions as well as from individuals and organizations of various Scheduled Castes. Only Malas and one or two of its allied castes raised objection against categorization of Scheduled Castes. Their main objections are:-

- (i) If sub-categorization is done it would amount to contempt of Supreme Court because the Apex Court in Chinnaiah's case has said micro division of Scheduled Castes is violative of the Constitution.
- (ii) Sub-categorization will work against the unity and interest of the Scheduled Caste as a whole.
- (iii) Apportionment of reservations to Scheduled Castes to sub-groups within the castes cannot be done by the State Legislature, only Parliament is competent to do so.
- (iv) Even Parliament does not have the power to do so since Constitution has intended that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are indivisible homogenous entities.
- (v) Further classification amongst Scheduled Castes itself offends Article 14.

18. The question for consideration is whether suggestions if made by this Commission for reorganization, redistribution or apportionment of benefits amongst various Scheduled Castes would amount to contempt. Parliament, as said by Apex Court in Chinnaiah's case, is fully competent to legislate and make a law for the benefit of all those Scheduled Castes who are not adequately represented or are still socially backward and discriminated. Moreover, Supreme Court Nine Judges Bench in Indra Sawhney's case (supra) have emphatically answered this question by saying that the exercise of power under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution does not encroach upon the powers of President or the Parliament under Article 341 of the Constitution of India. It is settled Law that a rule giving preference to members of more backward classes is permissible under Article 16(4) and

does not in any manner contravene Articles 14, 16(1) and 16(2) of the Constitution.

19. From the data which we have collected and analyzed above it gets clear that Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh are not a homogenous class. They do not constitute as one single class. They form a heterogeneous. Justice V. K. Krishna Iyer in the case of "State of Kerala vs. N.M. Thomas" observed that -

"there are no class in Hindu but an amalgam of castes, races, groups, tribes, communities thereof found on investigations to the lowest and need of massive state aid and notified as such by the President. Once it is found shall exchange inequalities amongst Schedule Castes and various concessions, preferences and reservations provided for the benefits of Scheduled Castes are predominantly taken away by one caste or its allied castes as against the remaining Scheduled Castes. It would be the duty of the State to ensure that lowest of the lowest and unequal among Scheduled Castes are given the same safeguard concession and protection and reservation which one caste is enjoying and by doing so it is not doing anything inconsistent with the Articles 14, 15 and 16 of the Constitution of India nor it in any way violative of principles of Article 14 and 341 of the Constitution.

20. The State of Andhra Pradesh has enacted various schemes for giving financial help to the Scheduled Castes through financial institutions etc. But these are supplementary, incidental and ancillary provisions. Because of these provisions Government is financing the poor Scheduled Castes to acquire education, to acquire land for cultivation and also to establish small private business. Persons who have taken financial help on the basis of schemes formulated by the State and came up to avail benefit of higher education and reservations in job under the State, they cannot on their own merit compete the Scheduled Castes who are socially, economically and educationally advanced and are already adequately represented. These 56 or 57 castes out of 60 castes were also provided Scheduled Castes reservation benefits but none of them can, on their own merit reach to the educational and employment opportunities. Therefore, it is for the State to ensure that all these castes receive equal reservation facilities and grow together. They be also given opportunity to adequately represented in education and employment.

21. State of Andhra Pradesh after going through the report of Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission, felt it necessary for the purpose of giving full effect to the provision of reservations, categorized Scheduled Castes into four categories i.e. A, B, C & D keeping in view their common profession, social set up, backwardness etc. State realized that the Scheduled Castes who have achieved benefits and gained means to develop their capability can only on the basis of their original birthmark, not be equated with those other who though included in the Presidential List are yet deprived of these means and capabilities and in fact have become unequals vis-à-vis the former. Therefore came to the opinion that categorization was justified.

22. In the State of Andhra Pradesh, Relli and Madiga together form 50.21% of the Scheduled Castes whereas Mala and its allied castes form 42.78% of the Scheduled Castes, but Mala and its allied castes are enjoying 70% representation in Class I and Class III posts in the State Services.

The population of Scheduled Castes and their representation in various institutions as per census 2001 as informed by various organisations in their representations is indicated hereunder:-

Madiga	60.74 lakhs
Malas	51.39 lakhs
Relli	1.21 lakhs
Adi Andhra	1.42 lakhs

In the State Public Sector Undertaking:-

Madiga	31.0%
Mala	61.8%
Relli	0.25%
Adi Andhra	2.77%

In the Local Bodies

Madiga	37%
Mala	43.3%
Relli	9.0%
Adi Andhra	9.9%

Educational Institutions

Mala	57.2%
Madiga	38.18%
Adi Andhra	0.56%
Relli	0.56%

Andhra Pradesh Secretariat

Mala	59.5%
Madiga	34.4%
Adi Andhra	4.0%
Relli	1.2%

IPS Officers in the State

Mala	76.92%
Madiga	23.0 %
No other castes represented.	

IPS Officer in other States

Mala	86.21%
Madiga	13.79%

Other castes not represented at all.

Office of Deputy Collector

Mala 78.13%

Madiga 21.18%

Magistrates

Mala 86.21%

Madiga 13.79%

No other castes got this benefit.

Relevant data pertaining to population represented in the State Legislative Assembly as Member of Parliament, in the State Services before and after sub categorisation are given in para 4,5 and 6 of Chapter-IV of the Report.

23. The data of 'caste-wise' and 'group-wise' beneficiaries of SCs in educational admissions, job recruitments and promotions during 4 years period of implementations of rationalization, during at least 4 years period of pre-implementation and three years of post implementation of rationalization is crucial to evaluate as to how rationalization was guaranteed and ensured distribution of reservation benefits to all the castes during implementation, and how they were deprived of the benefits during pre and post implementation of rationalization. The data of cast-wise beneficiaries of admissions into medical, engineering graduates/PGs, polytechnic, Nursing, Science graduates / PGs, arts graduates / PGs, B.Ed. /M.Ed. /LLB/ LLM, residential schools, residential colleges, IAS coaching centres etc. would give fair picture of disparities in distribution of Scheduled Caste reservation. Similarly, data of cast-wise beneficiaries of class-wise posts such as sweepers, Attenders, Junior Clerks, Senior Clerks, Superintendents, Assistant Directors, Deputy Directors, Joint Directors, Directors, Lecturers, Readers, Professors etc. in State Government Departments, State Autonomous Bodies, State Corporations, State Universities etc. can help in understanding the magnanimity of appropriation of Scheduled Caste reservation benefits by a few castes. The department wise data collected would identify the quantum of disparities among higher-posts. In fact all the key positions in govt. offices were occupied by Malas and their ratio to Madigas and other Scheduled Castes. The aim of rationalization of Scheduled Caste reservation is to allow all the castes

of Scheduled Castes to equally develop, receiving the reservation benefits in proportion to their population ratio.

24. State Legislature Committee on Welfare of Scheduled Castes in 1987, consisting of Mala, Madiga and forward community MLAs, itself unanimously viewed that -

"grouping of Scheduled Castes and fixing of percentages of reservations (from 15% reservation quota) will result in proper development of all listed castes simultaneously and ensures harmonious growth among them. The Committee, therefore, recommends to the Government to examine the issue in greater detail so as to group out a list of all SC candidates as was done in the case of BCs".

After the intensification of demands for categorization, Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission was constituted and its report and recommendations were unanimously approved in the Cabinet Meeting.

25. It is evident from the data collected by this Commission and as analyzed that Mala and allied castes have been well-established socially, politically and economically as compared to Relli and other Scheduled Castes.

26. The Lokur Committee made observations in 1965 in its report the Committee observed:

"It has been in evidence for some time that a lion's share of the various benefits and concessions earmarked for the scheduled castes and tribes is appropriated by the numerically larger and politically well organized communities. The smaller and more backward communities have tended to get lost in democratic processes, though most deserving of special aid. As remedial measures to rectify the malady, the Committee suggested that the various castes and tribes in lists should be administratively classified or categorized so as to give higher priority in planning and development to the needier and lower priority for the comparatively advanced"

In this view, the State of AP must review the latest conditions of Malas and Adi-Andhras, the State must devise mechanism to ensure equitable distribution of reservation, uniform development of all castes, and to assure the reach of reservation benefits to the neediest castes. Since Malas and Adi-Andhras have been appropriating reservation benefits for the last 57 years, at the cost of other castes, it is high time that the State should restrict certain reservation benefits to

32. In the light of the above discussions and the data collected as well as research data collected through the help of Indian Institute of Economics, it can safely be concluded that the State of Andhra Pradesh had to ensure that all the 59 Scheduled Castes in the State are able to enjoy equally the benefits of reservation and other concessions. The State of Andhra Pradesh in discharge of its constitutional duties under Article 15(4) and 16(4) is only trying to group them on the basis of their profession, occupation, cultural identity, spoken language and above all their poverty, untouchability and discrimination. The State of Andhra Pradesh classified them into 4 groups i.e. A, B, C & D. This was done with the prime object to ensure adequate representation to all the Scheduled Castes in educational institutions as well as in jobs under the State. The State of Andhra Pradesh is not trying to delete or remove any of the Scheduled Caste from the Presidential List published under Article 341 of the Constitution.

33. The analysis of data on different indicators of development, discussed and also information furnished by various organisations detailed in the report have already indicated that only a few castes in Andhra Pradesh have received the major benefits. The sub categorisation will ensure that benefits flow to the communities on a more equitable basis among the most vulnerable of the Scheduled Castes, which remained outside the purview of the development despite massive financial and institutional support by the State Government. There appears to be justification in this approach of the State of Andhra Pradesh for sub categorisation of the list of Scheduled Castes.

34. It is an accepted position that prior to the issuance of Act 20 of 2000 dated 01.04.2000, the major share of the provisions of reservation made for the benefit of Scheduled Castes in the State of Andhra Pradesh as a whole, had concentrated in the hands of caste namely "Mala", "Adi-Dravida", "Adi-Andhra", and one or two more leaving rest of the Scheduled Castes in the Presidential List, high and dry. It has resulted in an anomaly that, none of the majority castes despite their inclusion in the Presidential List for the State of Andhra Pradesh have not been able to seek reservation benefits including entry into Government service under the State. Except for the job of Sweepers and or Farash they

relatively more advanced Mala and Adi-Andhra castes and provide more benefits to Relli, Madiga and allied castes on the basis of preferential treatment.

27. Apportionment of Scheduled Caste reservation is already in force in the State of Andhra Pradesh. The 15% reservation for Scheduled Castes was apportioned between Andhra (Andhra University), Telengana (Osmania University) and Rayalaseema (Sri Venkateswara University) in educational admissions.

28. The apportionment of 15% reservation is also in force for job recruitments in Andhra Pradesh. In the zone wise recruitments, Scheduled Castes from that particular zone are only entitled to compete for the posts. Scheduled Caste candidates of all other zones are denied candidature for that zone.

29. More importantly, out of 15% reservation for Scheduled Castes, 33.33% is reserved (apportioned) for Scheduled Caste women. Women can field candidature for their quota of 5% and also for remaining 10%, where as men are denied of fielding candidature for 5% apportioned for Scheduled Caste women.

30. in spite of several apportionments (regional /zonal/ gender/ local bodies apportionments etc.) the rationalization of Scheduled Caste reservation is being well received by all sections of Scheduled Castes because of its built-in mechanism to ensure equitable distribution of benefits to the entitled castes.

31. The scope of recommendation of sub categorisation is only limited to the benefits of reservation in educational institutions and jobs under the State of Andhra Pradesh. Hence this recommendation of sub classification does not in any manner effect the reservations to be provided by other States. It is also apparent that the Presidential List notifying 60 Scheduled Castes is not being disturbed. Reservation benefits provided by Central Government are also not affected. Apart from that, neither inclusion nor deletion of any caste into or from the said list is attempted by the State of Andhra Pradesh. Hence, this Commission is only concerned with the question of sub categorisation suggested by the State of Andhra Pradesh.

could not get any other decent job. Their representation in comparison to their population in the State has been almost negligible.

35. Because of Supreme Court striking down the Act 20 of 2000 in E. V. Chinnaiah's case, majority Scheduled Castes have been agitating for equal distribution of the benefits of reservations and concessions. The State of Andhra Pradesh keeping in view the interests of majority of Scheduled Castes and to ensure that they could get adequate representation again brought the matter before the State legislature. Legislative Assembly of the State of Andhra Pradesh again passed the resolution unanimously recommending the Central Government to take up the matter in the Parliament. The Parliament may amend Article 341 and thereafter accept the recommendations of the State of Andhra Pradesh for sub-categorisation all the 60 Scheduled Castes into A, B, C & D leaving the percentage to be decided afresh by the State of Andhra Pradesh which will be in the larger interests of Scheduled Castes.

36. Under the circumstances, this Commission is of the view that in order to give effective representations to the various castes, races or tribes of Scheduled Castes in relation to a State or UT, the Constitution of India may be amended to provide for sub-categorization, micro-classification of various castes or groups included in the list of Scheduled Caste vide Article 341(1) & (2). It may be provided by the said Constitutional amendment that the sub-categorization/micro-classification shall be done by the Parliament by law on the basis of recommendations made by the Legislature of a State by way of a unanimous resolution to the effect as to what percentage of reservation should be given to various castes, races or tribes of Scheduled Caste included in the list specified in a notification under Article 341 for the purpose of reservation in the service of the States as well as in the Educational Institutions. It may also be provided by the said amendment that the State legislature shall make such recommendations on the basis of the data collected by it through a judicial commission to be headed, at least, by a sitting or retired High Court Judge. The Commission shall collect the data regarding representations of various castes, races or tribes of the Scheduled Castes in the service of the State as well as in Educational Institutions. The Judicial Commission and on its recommendation, the State legislature

shall indicate specifically as to what percentage of reservation benefits shall be given to which caste, races or tribes of Scheduled Caste, or part of or group within in any caste, races or tribes thereof based on their population ratio.

37. The commission thus recommends that Article 341 of the Constitution of India be amended and clause (3) thereto may be added as under:

341(3) Parliament may by law provide for sub categorisation or de sub categorisation of caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe specified in a notification issued under clause (1) or by law made by parliament under clause (2), upon receiving a resolution from legislature of a State/U.T passed unanimously.

Precedent / parliament